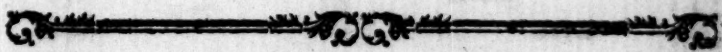


THE
WORKS
OF
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME III.



EDINBURGH:

Printed by A. DONALDSON, and sold at his Shops
in London and Edinburgh.

M,DCC,LXVIII.

THE

W O R K S

OF

DR. JOHANN SWIFT



DEAN, BISHOP, & CO.

VOLUME III.

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MDCCLXXVII.

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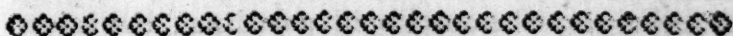
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THE
EXAMINER.



No. 22. Thursday, January 4. 1710.

Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ, quam eæ, quæ latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.

The following answer is written in the true style, and with the usual candour of such pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my skill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely satisfied with it.

The EXAMINER cross-examined; or, A full answer to the last EXAMINER.

IF I durst be so bold with this author, I would gladly ask him a familiar question: Pray, Sir, who made you an examiner? He talks in one of his insipid papers of eight or nine thousand corruptions, while we were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he hath hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c.

Hor.

VOL. III.

A

But

But I shall confine myself at present to his last paper. He tells us, *the Queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church.* Here is *priestcraft* with a witness! This is the constant language of your *highfliers*, to call those who are *hired* to teach the *religion of the magistrate*, by the name of the *church*. But this is not all; for in the very next line he says, *it was hoped the nation would have followed this example.* You see the *faction* begins already to speak out: this is an open demand for the abbey-land; this furious zealot would have us *priest-ridden* again, like our Popish ancestors; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to suppress such audacious attempts; else we have spent so much blood and treasure to very little purpose in maintaining *religion* and the *revolution*. But what can we expect from a man who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? *A country*, says he, *may flourish* (these are his own words) *without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages.* What! we must immediately banish, or murder the Palatines; forbid all foreign merchants not only the exchange, but the kingdom; persecute the dissenters with fire and faggot; and make it high treason to speak any other tongue but English. In another place he talks of a *serpent* with *seven heads*, which is a manifest corruption of the text; for the words, *seven heads*, are not mentioned in that verse. However, we know what *serpent* he would mean; a *serpent* with *fourteen legs*; or indeed no *serpent* at all, but seven great men, who were the *best ministers*, the *truest Protestants*, and the most *disinterested patriots*, that ever served a prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Protestant or a Papist; he finds fault with convocations; says they are *assemblies strangely contrived*; and yet lays the fault upon us, that we *bound their hands*; I wish we could have bound their

their *tongues* too. But, as fast as their *hands* were bound, they could make a shift to hold their *pens*, and have their share in the guilt of ruining the hopefulest party and ministry that ever *prescribed* to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to see a majority of *prelates* cried up by those who are enemies to the character: Now, I always thought, that the concessions of enemies were more to a man's advantage, than the praise of his friends. *Time and mortality*, he says, *can only remedy these inconveniencies in the church*: that is, in other words, when certain bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own stamp. Not so fast: you are not yet so sure of your game. We have already got one comfortable loss in Spain, although by a general of our own: for joy of which our junto had a merry meeting at the house of their great proselyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more such *blows* would perhaps set us right again; and then we can employ mortality, as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that *three letters, spoken when the prolocutor was presented, were made public*. I suppose he would be content with *one*; and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have *grace*, without either *eloquence* or *Latin*; which is all I shall say to this malicious *innuendo*.

Having thus, I hope, given a full and satisfactory answer to the Examiner's last paper, I shall now go on to a more important affair, which is, to prove by several undeniable instances that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret to the clergy; wherein this friendship did consist. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what

I am to say were to be written in brags for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church must endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their *last good office*, and will never *rise* to preserve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of these church-defenders, who were its patrons by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it by their exemplary lives.

First, St. Paul tells us, *there must be heresies in the church, that the truth may be manifest*; and therefore, by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of the truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To shew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it entirely out of the hands of *God almighty*, (because that was a *foreign jurisdiction*), and made it their own *creature*, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Because *charity* is the most celebrated of all Christian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all bounds; and, instead of shutting the church against *dissenters*, were ready to open it to all *comers*, and *break down its walls*, rather than that any should want room to enter. The strength of a state, we know, consisteth in the number of people, how different soever in their callings; and why should not the strength of a church consist in the same, how different soever in their *creeds*? For that reason they charitably attempted to abolish the *test*, which tied up so many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by several *malignant Tories*, and denied as a slander by many unthinking people among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to ask such questions as these: "Was your test repealed? had we not a majority? might we not have done it, if we pleased?" *To which the others answer*, You did what you could: you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impediment from that quarter, whence the sanction of the law must come; and therefore, to save your credit, you condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourselves had brought in." But, alas! the miscarriage of that noble project for the safety of the church had another original; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of secret history, which I shall now lay open.

These church-protectors had directed a *Presbyterian preacher* to draw up a bill for repealing the *test*. It was accordingly done with great art; and, in the preamble several expressions of civility to the *established church*; and when it came to the qualifications of all those who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken special care to make them large enough for all Christians whatsoever, by transcribing the very words (only formed into an *oath*) which Quakers are obliged to profess by a former act of parliament; as I shall here set them down: "I, *A. B.* profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." This bill was carried to the chief leader, for their approbation, with these terrible words turned into an oath. What should they do? Those few among them who fancied they believed in *God*, were sure they did not believe in *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one

syllable of the *Bible* ; and they were as sure that every body knew their opinion in those matters, which indeed they had been always too sincere to disguise ; how therefore could they take such an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendons and all the tribe of freethinkers, and so *give a scandal to weak unbelievers* ? Upon this nice point of honour and conscience the matter was hushed, the project for repealing the *test* let fall, and the *sacrament* left as the smaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, These pillars of the church, because *the harvest was great, and the labourers few*, and because they would ease the bishops from that grievous trouble of *laying on hands*, were willing to allow that power to all men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible consequence of *unchurching* those who thought a hand from under a *cloak* as effectual as from *lawn sleeves*. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general *naturalization of priesthood* ?

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, because truth never appears so fair as when confronted with falsehood, they directed books to be published, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the *second and third person*, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the soul. To this we owe that great sense of religion, that respect and kindness to the clergy, and that true love of virtue, so manifest of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more discreet, than to leave the merits of each cause to such wise, impartial judges ; who might otherwise fall under the slavery of believing by *education and prejudice*.

Sixthly, Because nothing so much distracts the thoughts, as too great variety of subjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to prescribe the clergy what subjects they should preach upon, and in

in what manner, that they might be at no loss; and this, no doubt was a proper work for such hands, so thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of all christian duties,

Seventhly, To save trouble and expense to the clergy, they contrived that *convocations* should meet as seldom as possible; and when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any business; because, *they said*, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the *whole man*. For the same reason they were very desirous to excuse the bishops from sitting in parliament, that they might be at more leisure to stay at home and look after the inferior clergy.

I shall mention at present but one more instance of their pious zeal for the church. They had somewhere heard the maxim, *That sanguis martyrū est semen ecclesiæ*; therefore, in order to *sow this seed*, they began with *impeaching a clergyman*: And that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumstance, they proceeded as much as possible against common law; which the *long-robe part* of the *managers* knew, was in an hundred instances directly contrary to all their positions, and *were sufficiently warned of it beforehand*; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a sudden; for a certain great person (whose character hath been lately published by some stupid and lying writer) who very much distinguished himself by his zeal for forwarding this *impeachment*, had several years ago endeavoured to persuade the late King to give way to just such another attempt. He told his Majesty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous sermons, and that the only way to put a stop to such insolence was to impeach him in parliament. The King inquired the character of the man: "O Sir, *said my Lord*, the most violent, hot, positive fellow in England; so extremely wilful, that
" I

" I believe, he would be heartily glad to be a martyr. *The King answered*, Is it so ? Then I am resolved to disappoint him ;" and would never hear more of the matter ; by which that hopeful project unhappily miscarried.

I have hitherto confined myself to those endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of *our* party ; but, if my paper were not drawing towards an end, I could produce several instances of particular persons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character so justly due to the whole body. I shall at present mention only two, and illustrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and *true lover* of the church, whom a *late Examiner* is supposed to reflect on under the name of *Verres*, felt a pious impulse to be a benefactor to the cathedral of Gloucester ; but how to do it in the most decent generous manner, was the question. At last he thought of an expedient : one morning, or night, he stole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that which in cleanly phrase is called *disburdening of nature*. He was discovered, persecuted, and condemned to pay a thousand *pounds* ; which sum was all employed to *support the church*, as, no doubt, the benefactor meant it.

There is another person, whom the same writer is thought to point at under the name of *Will Bigamy*. This gentleman, knowing that marriage-fees were a considerable perquisite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them *cent. per cent.* for the *good of the church*. His invention was to marry a second wife, while the first was alive, convincing her of the lawfulness by such arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the same example. These he had drawn up in writing, with
intention

intention to publish for the *general good*; and it is hoped, he may *now* have leisure to finish them.



No. 23. Thursday, January 11. 1710.

Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur.

I AM satisfied, that no reasonable man of either party can justly be offended at any thing I said in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down perhaps many persons may conclude, that I had a mind, the world should think there had been occasion given by some late abuses among men of that calling; and they conclude right; for my intention is, that my hints may be understood, and my quotations and allegories applied; and I am in some pain to think, that in the Orcades on one side, and the western coasts of Ireland on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *key* in several parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As to the French King, I am under no concern at all: I hear he hath left off reading my papers, and by what he hath found in them, dislikes our proceedings more than ever; and intends, either to make great additions to his armies, or propose new terms for a peace. So false is that which is commonly reported of his mighty satisfaction in our change of ministry. And I think it clear, that his late letter of thanks to the *Tories* of Great Britain must either have been extorted from him, against his judgment; or was a cast of politics to set the people

people against the present ministry; wherein it hath wonderfully succeeded.

But, though I have never heard, or never regarded, any objections made against that paper which mentions the army; yet I intend this as a sort of apology for it. And first I declare, (because we live in a mistaken world), that in hinting at some proceedings, wherein a few persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much detested that barbarous injustice among the writers of a late party to be ever guilty of it myself; I mean the accusing societies for the crimes of a few. On the other side, I must take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions, than other numbers of men. The maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, because I am sure, considering what hath passed, it would be a crime to think otherwise. All posts in the army, all employments at court, and many others are, *or ought to be*, given and resumed at the mere pleasure of the prince; yet when I see a great officer broke, a change made in the court, or the ministry, and this under the most just and gracious princess that ever reigned, I must naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent considerations, and for some great demerit in the sufferers. But then, is not the punishment sufficient? Is it generous or charitable to trample on the unfortunate, and expose their faults to the world in the strongest colours? And would it not suit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without question; provided it could be so contrived, that their very names, as well as their actions, might be forgotten for ever; *such* an act of oblivion would be for the honour of our nation, and beget a better opinion of us with posterity; and then I might have

have spared the world and myself the trouble of *examining*. But at present there is a cruel *dilemma* in the case; the friends and abettors of the late ministry are every day publishing their praises to the world, and casting reflections upon the present persons in power. This is so barefaced an aspersion upon the Queen, that I know not how any good subject can with patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the opinions in dispute. Shall they who have lost all power and love of the people, be allowed to scatter their poison; and shall not those, who are at least of the strongest side, be suffered to bring an antidote? and how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them see, that these discarded statesmen were justly laid aside; and producing as many instances to prove it as we can? not from any personal hatred to them, but in justification to the best of queens. The many scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor paper of mine, are in such a strain, that, considering the present state of affairs, they look like a jest. They usually run after the following manner: "What! shall this insolent
" writer presume to censure the late ministry, the
" ablest, the most faithful, and truest lovers of
" their country and its constitution, that ever served a prince? Shall he reflect on the best house
" of commons that ever sat within those walls?
" Hath not the Queen changed both for a ministry
" and parliament of *Jacobites* and *highfliers*, who
" are selling us to France, and bringing over the
" *pretender*?" This is the very sum and force of all their reasonings, and this is their method of complaining against the Examiner. In *them* it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the Queen, and the ministry and parliament she hath chosen with the universal applause of her people: in *us* it is insolent to defend her Majesty and her choice, or to
answer

answer their objections by shewing the reasons why those changes were necessary.

The same style hath been used in the late case concerning some gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raised by a set of men, who had the boldness to tax the administration with cruelty and injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by shewing the ill consequences that might arise from some proceedings, although without application to particular persons. And what do they offer in answer? Nothing but a few common places against *calumny* and *informers*; which might have been full as just and seasonable in a plot against the sacred person of the Queen.

But, by the way, why are these idle people so indiscreet to name those *two words*, which afford occasion of laying open to the world such an infamous scene of *subordination* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal* * refused to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I disapprove their sagacity, who could foretel so long before by what *band* they should one day fall, and therefore thought any means justifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But waving this at present, it must be owned in justice to the army, that those violences did not proceed so far among them as some have believed; nor ought the madness of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due praises to those brave troops, who did their part in procuring so many victories for the *allies*; that I could wish every officer and private foldier had their full share of honour, in proportion to their deserts; being thus far of the Athenians mind, who, when it was proposed that

* Greg.

the statue of Miltiades should be set up alone in some public place of the city, said, they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late ministry before the present ; or, if wishing alone could be of any use, for wishing their continuance, because then they might be secure of the war's continuance too ; whereas, since affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under some apprehensions of a peace ; which no army, especially in the course of success, was ever inclined to ; and which all wise states have in such a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point wherein the civil and military politics have always disagreed : and for that reason I affirmed it necessary in all free governments, that the latter should be absolutely in subjection to the former ; otherwise one of these two inconveniencies must arise, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the *civil* institution into a *military*.

I am ready to allow all that hath been said of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great successes abroad ; nor is it their fault, that those important victories had no better consequences at home, tho' it may be their *advantage*. War is their trade and business : to improve and cultivate the advantages of success, is an affair of the cabinet ; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakness or corruption, according to the usual uncertainty of wars, may be of the most fatal consequence to the nation. For, pray let me represent our condition in such a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years blessed with a Queen, who, besides all virtues that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesseth every regal quality that can con-

tribute to make a people happy: of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors: of much discernment in chusing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that excess of goodness, which makes her judge of others by herself: frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public, which in proportion she doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all who want or deserve; and, in order to exercise those virtues, denying herself all entertainments of expense, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual success in battles and sieges; not to mention several fortunate actions in Spain. These facts being thus stated, which none can deny; it is natural to ask, how we have improved such advantages, and to what account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worse by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best physicians, before the case grows desperate. But I would ask, whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made so little use of such prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extreme degree of folly and corruption; and where those have lain, let the world judge. Instead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which hath been the perpetual maxim of all wise states, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to express our wishes for it; and such a condition imposed, as was never offered to any prince who had an inch of ground to dispute; *quæ enim est conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who sat at home, and were called to consult upon

upon the good of the kingdom, to be so utterly averse from putting an end to a long, expensive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered side, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the sword; they had no share in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the Queen saw through their designs; that they had entirely lost the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were against them; that they were detested by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary, when the war was at end. For these reasons they resolved to disappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party should be so deeply rooted, as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters so fast, as in a little time must have ruined the constitution, if the crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than such dreadful consequences of their power. And indeed, if the former danger had been greater than some hoped or feared, I see no difficulty in the choice, which was the same with his, who said, "he had rather be devoured by wolves than by rats." I therefore still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with the army for concurring with the ministry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in those who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the rest, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt ministry joins in giving it too great a scope, the consequence can be nothing less, than infallible ruin and slavery to a state.

After I had finished this paper, the printer sent me two small pamphlets, called, *The management of the war*; written with some plausibility, much artifice, and abundance of misrepresentations, as well as direct falsehoods in point of fact. These I have thought worth *examining*, which I shall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.



No 24. Thursday, Jaunary 18. 1710.

Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.

HOPES are natural to most men, especially to sanguine complexions; and among the various changes that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some grounds. Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have some recourse, which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for several months past the condition of those people, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the *ruined party*. They have taken up since their fall some real and some peetended hopes. When the Earl of Sunderland was discarded, they *hoped* her Majesty would proceed no farther in the change of her ministry; and had the insolence to misrepresent her words to foreign states. They *hoped*, nobody durst advise the dissolution of the parliament. When this was done, and further alterations made in court, they *hoped*, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation

nation. They likewise *hoped*, that we should have some terrible loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their *hopes*, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that which they now would seem to place their whole confidence in : that this great turn of affairs was only occasioned by a short madness of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are opened, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest sighted among these reasoners are well enough convinced, how vain all such *hopes* must be : but for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill judges of the people's dispositions ; the want of which knowledge was a principal occasion to hasten their ruin ; for surely, had they suspected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run against it by that *impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are so blind, as to imagine some comfort from this fantastical opinion ; that the people of England are at present distracted, but will shortly come to their senses again.

For the service therefore of our adversaries and friends, I shall briefly *examine* this point, by shewing what are the causes and symptoms of a people's madness ; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's observation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do seldom mistake their true interests ; and indeed they naturally love the constitution they are born under ; never desiring to change, but under great oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several means. It hath often happened in Greece, and sometimes in Rome, that those very men who have contributed to shake off a former tyranny, have, instead of

restoring the old constitution, deluded the people into a worse and more ignominious slavery. Besides, all great changes have the same effect upon commonwealths, that thunder hath upon liquors, making the *dregs* fly up to the top; the lowest plebeians rise to the head of affairs; and there preserve themselves, by representing the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new mysteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, hath likewise been a frequent topic to mislead the people. And not to mention more, the promoting false reports of dangers from abroad, hath often served to prevent them from fencing against real dangers at home. By these, and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt administration, the madness of the people hath risen to such a height as to break in pieces the whole frame of the best instituted governments. But, however, such great phrenzies, being artificially raised, are a perfect force and constraint upon human nature; and under a wise steady prince will certainly decline of themselves, settling like the sea after a storm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern story are full of instances to illustrate what I say.

In our own island we had a great example of a long madness in the people, kept up by a thousand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the constitution was destroyed; yet the malignity being spent, and the humour exhausted that served to foment it, before the usurpers could fix upon a new scheme, the people suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old constitution.

From what I have offered, it will be easy to decide, whether this late change in the disposition of the people was a new madness, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I see how it can be proved,

ed, that such a change had in any circumstance the least symptoms of madness, whether my description of it be right or no. It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the disposition of the people in the choice of their representatives is by computing the country-elections; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present measures; although the court was so far from interposing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods used to influence elections. The free, unextorted addresses sent some time before from every part of the kingdom, plainly shewed, what sort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, against the united interest of those two great bodies, the Bank and East-India company, was another convincing argument. Besides, the *Whigs* themselves have always confessed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of *Tories*. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius and disposition of the people; whether it were just and reasonable in itself or no.

Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the *partisans* of the late men in power gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present ministry cannot possibly stand. Now, they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the *last* being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honest men will be able to restore things to their former state. Or else these reasoners have been so misled by twenty years mismanagement, that they have forgot our constitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiser; and by the choice they have made, shew they do understand our constitution,

tion, and would bring it back to the old form ; which if the new ministers take care to maintain, they will and ought to stand ; otherwise they may fall like their predecessors. But, I think, we may easily foresee what a parliament, freely chosen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man shall be in any danger to lose his place by the freedom of his voice.

But who are those advancers of this opinion, that the present ministry cannot hold ? It must be either such as are afraid to be called to an account, in case it should hold : or those who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places ; since perhaps it will be necessary to make some changes, that the public business of the nation may go on : or, lastly, *stockjobbers*, who industriously spread such reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet these hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the *disguise* and pretence of *fears*. Some of these gentlemen are employed to shake their heads in proper companies ; to doubt where all this will end ; to be in mighty pain for the nation ; to shew how impossible it is, that the public credit can be supported ; to pray that all may do well in whatever hands ; but very much to doubt that the pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing so nearly resembling this behaviour, as what I have often seen among the friends of a sick man, whose interest it is that he should die. The physicians protest they see no danger, the symptoms are good, the medicines answer expectation ; yet still they are not to be comforted ; they whisper, he is a gone man, it is not possible he should hold out ; he hath perfect death in his face ; they never liked his doctor. At last, the

the patient recovers, and their joy is as false as their grief.

I believe there is no man so sanguine, who did not apprehend some ill consequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones: but it is manifest, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Those remedies that stir the humours in a diseased body, are at first more painful than the malady itself; yet certain death is the consequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are said to come in slowly. But besides that, something of this must have been whether there had been any change or no: besides that the surprise of every change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reason, which is plain and scandalous. When the late party was at the helm, those who were called the *Tories*, never put their resentments in balance with the safety of the nation: but cheerfully contributed to the common cause; now the scene is changed, the fallen party seems to act from very different motives; they have *given the word about*; they will keep their money, and be passive; and in this point stand upon the same foot with *Papists* and *Nonjurors*. What would have become of the public, if the present great majority had acted thus during the late administration, before the others were masters of that wealth they have squeezed out of the landed men, and with the strength of which, they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

Thus much I have thought to say, without pointing reflections upon any particular person, which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only towards those whose characters are too profligate, that the managing of them should be of any consequence. Besides, as it is a talent I am not naturally

rally fond of; so, in the subjects I treat it is generally needless. If I display the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of gross immorality and irreligion; those who are the least conversant in things, will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of such who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other side were the first aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular persons; how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives against the present ministry, with the first and last letters of their names to prevent mistakes? It is good sometimes to let these people see, that we neither want spirit nor materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this point *alone*, I shall follow their example, whenever I find myself sufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, founded either upon avowed facts, which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being resolved publicly to confess any mistakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly desire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers, said to be done in the cathedral of Gloucester. A whole hydra of errors in two words! For, as I am since informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Gloucester, but some other church of that diocese. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meanest hands, I should certainly have answered it.



No 25. Thursday, January 25, 1710.

Διαλεξιμένοι τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σῶματι ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ,
τὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμασαν.

*Summissa quædam voce collocuti sunt, quorum summa
erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis
delendis, conjuratio.*

NOT many days ago I observed a knot of discontented gentlemen, cursing the *Tories* to hell for their uncharitableness in affirming, that, if the late ministry had continued to this time, we should have had neither *church* nor *monarchy* left. They are usually so candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-house, or over a bottle, from some warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more than they believed, by some positions as absurd and ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this very instance: for, asking one of these gentlemen what it was that provoked those he had been disputing with, to advance such a paradox; he assured me in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world but that himself and some others of the company had made it appear, that the design of the present parliament and ministry was to bring in *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*: which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *Whigs*: because I defy our adversaries to produce one single reason for suspecting such designs in the persons now at the helm; whereas I can,
upon

upon demand, produce twenty to shew, that some late men had strong views towards a *commonwealth*, and the alteration of the *church*.

It is natural indeed, when a storm is over, that hath only untiled our houses and blown down some of our chimneys, to consider what farther mischiefs might have ensued, if it had lasted longer. However, in the present case I am not of the opinion above mentioned. I believe the church and state might have lasted *somewhat longer*, although the late enemies to both had done their worst. I can hardly conceive, how things would have been soon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make such large and sudden strides, it must have come to blows; and, according to the computation we have now reason to think a right one, I can partly guess what would have been the issue. Besides, we are sure the Queen would have interposed, before they came to extremities; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But, instead of this question, what would have been the consequence, if the late ministry had continued? I will propose another, which will be more useful for us to consider; and that is, *What we may reasonably expect they will do, if ever they came into power again?* This, we know, is the design and endeavour of all those scribblers which daily fly about in their favour; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous libels against the present administration; and of all those engines set at work to sink the *actions*, and blow up the public credit. As for those who shew their inclinations by writing, there is one consideration, which I wonder doth not sometimes affect them: for how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleness and innocence of those who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an insolent, pragmatical

orator

orator somewhere in Greece, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the state, was answered by one who had been very instrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that *he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wished them in, when every man in that city might securely say what he pleased.* I wish these gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their masters used to give; how many messengers and warrants would have gone out against any, who durst have opened their lips, or drawn their pens, against the persons and proceedings of their *juntos* and *cabals*? How would their weekly writers have been calling out for *prosecution* and *punishment*? We remember, when a poor nickname *, borrowed from an old play of Ben Johnson, and mentioned in a sermon without any particular application, was made use of as a motive to spur on an impeachment. But after all it must be confessed, they had reasons to be thus severe, which their successors have not: Their faults would never endure the light; and to have exposed them sooner, would have raised the kingdom against the actors, before the proper time.

But to come to the subject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the consequences would be, upon supposition that the *Whigs* were now restored to their power: I already imagine the present free parliament dissolved, and another of a different epithet met by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two stinging votes against the proceedings of the late ministry. The bill † now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birth-right of an Englishman reduced again to the value of twelve pence. But to give the reader a stronger imagination of

* Volpone was a nickname given to Lord Treasurer Godolphin.

† A bill for a general naturalization.

such a scene, let me represent the designs of some men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in for repealing the *sacramental test*.

“ A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Coward, and Toland, in behalf of themselves and many hundreds of their disciples, some of whom are members of this honourable house; desiring that leave may be given to bring in a bill for qualifying *Atheists, Deists, and Socinians* to serve their country in any employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That leave be given to bring in a bill according to the prayer of the said petition; and that Mr. Lechmere * do prepare and bring in the same.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in for removing the education of youth out of the hands of the clergy.

“ Another to forbid the clergy preaching certain duties in religion; especially *obedience to princes*.

“ Another to take away the jurisdiction of bishops.

“ Another for constituting a general *for life*; with instructions to the committee, that care may be taken to make the war last as long as the life of the said general.

“ A bill of attainder against James Duke of Ormond, John Duke of Buckingham, Laurence Earl of Rochester, Sir Simon Harcourt, Knt.

* Mr. Lechmere was one of the managers against Dr. Sacheverel, and summed up the evidence.

“ Robert

“ Robert Harley and William Shippen, Esquires,
“ Abigail Masham, spinster, and others, for high
“ treason against the *junto*.

“ *Resolved*,

“ That Sarah Duchess of Marlborough hath been
“ a most dutiful, just, and grateful servant to her
“ Majesty.

“ *Resolved*,

“ That to advise the dissolution of a Whig par-
“ liament, or the removal of a *Whig* ministry,
“ was in order to bring in *Poper*y and the *pretend*-
“ er; and that the said advice was high treason.

“ *Resolved*,

“ That, by the *original compact*, the govern-
“ ment of this realm is by a *junto*, and a King, or
“ Queen; but the *administration* solely in the *jun*-
“ to.

“ *Ordered*,

“ That a bill be brought in for farther limiting
“ the prerogative.

“ *Ordered*,

“ That it be a standing order of this house, that
“ the merit of elections be not determined by the
“ number of voices, or right of electors, but by
“ weight; and that one *Whig* shall weigh down
“ ten *Tories*.

“ A motion being made, and the question being
“ put, that when a *Whig* is detected of manifest
“ bribery, and his competitor, being a *Tory*, hath
“ ten to one a majority, there shall be a new elec-
“ tion; it passed in the negative.

“ *Resolved*,

“ That for a King or Queen of this realm to
“ read or examine a paper brought them to be
“ signed by a *junto* minister, is arbitrary and ille-
“ gal; and a violation of the liberties of the peo-
“ ple.

These, and the like reformations, would in all
probability

probability be the first fruits of the *Whigs resurrection*; and what structures such able artists might in a short time build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a *peace* cut off; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose interest lay in ruining the constitution. I do not see, how the wisest prince under such necessities could be able to extricate himself. Then as to the *church*; the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at last from their office; and the clergy, instead of their idle claim of *independency* on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall not now *examine*. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn some time ago, representing five persons as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a *pentarchy*; a void space was left for a sixth, which was to have been the Queen, to whom they intended that honour: but her Majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to croud in *two better friends*, in her place, which makes it a complete *heptarchy**. This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times; and hangs in a hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman, who hath been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine relating to the con-

* This heptarchy was the serpent with seven heads, mentioned in No 21. 22.

vocation. He promiseth to "set me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language." I suppose he means, in comparison with others, who pretend to answer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he hath behaved himself as becomes a candid antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says in his title-page, my *representations are unfair, and my reflections unjust*: and his conclusion is yet more severe; where he "doubts I and my friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they prevented us from Popery and arbitrary power at the revolution; and since that time from being over-run by the exorbitant power of France, and becoming a prey to the Pretender." Because this author seems in general to write with an honest meaning, I would seriously put to him the question, whether he thinks, "I and my friends are for Popery, arbitrary power, France, and the pretender?" I omit other instances of smaller moment, which however do not suit in my opinion with *due reflection, or decent language*. The fact relating to the convocation came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumstance about it. My reflections were no more, than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right, which this author gives us of a lower house of convocation; it is a very melancholy one, and to me seems utterly inconsistent with that of a body of men whom he owns to have a *negative*: and therefore, since a great majority of the clergy differ from him in several points he advances, I shall rather chuse to be of their opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole synod met in one house*, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their bishops; and therefore, whether this treatment, so extremely *de haut en bas*, since their exclusion be suitable to primitive custom or primitive humility towards brethren,

thren, is not my business to inquire. One may allow the divine, or apostolic right of Episcopacy, and its great superiority over presbyters; and yet dispute the methods of exercising the latter, which, being of human institution are subject to incroachments and usurpations. I know every clergyman in a diocese hath a great deal of dependence upon his bishop, and owes him canonical obedience; but I was apt to think, that when the whole representative of the clergy met in a synod, they were considered in another light; at least since they are allowed to have a *negative*. If I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing wherein I entirely differ from this author: since in the disputes about privileges *one side must recede*; where so very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the incroachments are not on the inferior clergy's side; and no man can blame them for insisting on the small number that is left. There is one fact wherein I must take occasion to set this author right; that the person * who first moved the Queen to remit the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was an "eminent instrument in the late turn of affairs;" and, as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the same favour granted for the clergy of *Ireland* †.

But I must beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controversy; which would be of very little import to most readers, and only mispend time that I would gladly employ to better purposes. For where it is a man's business to entertain a whole roomful, it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular person, and turn his back upon the rest of the company.

* Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer.

† This was done by the author's solicitation. See his letters to Archbishop King.



No 26. Thursday, February 1. 1710.

*Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorum-
que in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cu-
jusque, tum etiam multitudinis, testimonio compro-
batur.*

I AM thinking, what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a *ruined cause*. I remember a *sanaic preacher*, who was inclined to come into the *church*, and take orders; but upon mature thoughts was diverted from that design, when he considered that the collections of the *godly* were a much heartier and readier penny, than he could get by wrangling with tithes. He certainly had reason; and the two cases are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a necessary person: you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at those who hold the pen on the other side: you are sure to be celebrated and caressed by all your party, to a man: you may affirm and deny what you please without truth or probability, since it is but loss of time to contradict you. Besides, *commiseration* is often on your side; and you have a pretence to be thought honest and disinterested for adhering to friends in distress: after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a strong fund of *merit* towards making your fortune. Then you never fail to be well furnished with materials; every one bringing in his *quota*; and falsehood being naturally more plentiful than truth: not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power,

power, and hugging yourself in a corner with mighty satisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwise with us, who engage as volunteers in the service of a flourishing ministry, in full credit with the Queen, and beloved by the people; because they have no sinister ends or dangerous designs; but pursue with steadiness and resolution the true interest of both. Upon which account they little want, or desire, our assistance; and we may write till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed either to a *place*, or a *pension*: besides, we are refused the common *benefit of the party*, to have our works cried up of course; the readers of our side being as ungentle, and hard to please, as if we writ against them: and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The design of their labours, who write on the conquered side, is likewise of greater importance than *ours*: They are like cordials for dying men, which must be repeated; whereas ours are, in the scripture-phrase, but *meat for babes*: at least, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the ignorant, and those at a distance; but their task is to keep up the sinking spirits of a whole party.

After such reflections, I cannot be angry with those gentlemen for perpetually writing against me; it furnishes them largely with topics; and is besides their proper business: neither is it affectation, or altogether *scorn*, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act suitable to our several provinces: mine is by laying open some corruptions in the late management, to set those who are ignorant, right in their opinions of persons and things: it is theirs to cover with *fig-leaves* all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and disprove; and then let the world decide.

If

If I were as *they*, my chief endeavour should certainly be to batter down the *Examiner*: therefore I cannot but approve their design. Besides, they have indeed another reason for barking incessantly at this paper: they have in their prints openly taxed a most ingenious person, as author of it; one who is in great, and very deserved, reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for public business. They were wise enough to consider, what a sanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadversion of such a pen; and therefore used all the forms of provocation commonly practised by little obscure pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the fame of an adversary. So nice a taste have these judicious critics in pretending to discover an author by his style and manner of thinking! not to mention the justice and candour of exhausting all the stale topics of scurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one who is entirely innocent; and whose greatest fault perhaps is too much *gentleness* towards a party, from whose *leaders* he hath received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the ease and reputation of so deserving a gentleman, hath at length forced me, much against my interest and inclination, to let these angry people know, who is *not* the author of the *Examiner*. For I observed the opinion began to spread; and I chose rather to sacrifice the honour I received by it, than let the injudicious people intitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reason to be ashamed of: still faithfully promising never to disturb those worthy advocates; but suffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their party find any ease in it; as physicians say there is to people in torment, such as men in the gout, or women in labour.

However, I must acknowledge myself indebted
to

to them for one hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late ministry I have seen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of those who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I saw the poor virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the disposers had flung their names, like *valentines*, into a *hat* to be drawn, as fortune pleased, by the *junto* and their friends. Their Crassus drew *Liberality* and *Gratitude*; Fulvia, *Humility* and *Gentleness*; Clodius, *Piety* and *Justice*; Gracchus, *Loyalty* to his prince; Cinna, *Love of his country and constitution*; and so of the rest. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often seen of late the whole set of discarded statesmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings for those very qualities which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these *heroes* put off and lock up their *virtues* when they came into employment; and have they now resumed them since their dismissions? If they wore them, I am sure it was *under* their *greatness*, and without ever once convincing the world of their *visibilty* or *influence*.

But why should not the present ministry find a pen to praise them, as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, without being called, served them half a year in quality of *champion*; and, by help of the Queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them against a routed cabal of hated politicians, with a dozen of scribblers at their head: Yet so far have they been from rewarding me suitable to my deserts, that to this day they never so much as sent to the *printer* to enquire who I was; although I have known a time and ministry, where a person of half my merit and consideration would have had fifty *promises*; and,

and, in the mean time, a *pension* settled on him, whereof the *first quarter should be honestly paid*. Therefore, my resentments shall so far prevail, that in praising those who are now at the head of affairs, I shall at the same time take notice of their defects. Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present Lord Keeper * or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the House of Commons? And will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative, as well as practical part of *polygamy*; he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a *lunatic*: He is no *freethinker* in religion, nor hath courage to be *patron* of an atheistical book, while he is guardian of the Queen's conscience. Although after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character, as some would pretend.

The person who now presides at the council †, is descended from a great and honourable father, not *from the dregs of the people*; he was at the head of the treasury some years, and rather chose to enrich his prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit, he sacrificed the greatest employment in the kingdom to his *conscience* and *honour*; he hath always been firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the crown, and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own, that he is neither *Deist* nor *Socinian*; he hath never conversed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education;

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Harcourt, was made Lord Keeper upon the resignation of Lord Chancellor Cowper.

† Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rochester, in the room of Lord Somers.

nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, *to ruin and imprison the husband, in order to keep the wife without disturbance.*

The present Lord Steward * hath been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge ; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs ; hath continued constant to the true interest of the nation, which he espoused from the beginning ; and is every way qualified to support the dignity of his office ; but in point of *oratory*, must give place to his predecessor.

The Duke of Shrewsbury † was highly instrumental in bringing about the *revolution*, in which service he freely exposed his life and fortune. He hath ever been the favourite of the nation, being possessed of all the amiable qualities that can accomplish a great man ; but in the agreeableness and fragrantcy of his person, and the profoundness of his politics, must be allowed to fall very short of —.

Mr. Harley ‡ had the honour of being chosen Speaker successively to three parliaments. He was the first of late years, who ventured to restore the forgotten custom of treating his prince with *duty* and *respect* ; easy and disengaged in private conversation with such a weight of affairs upon his shoulders ; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it ; intrepid by nature, as well as by the consciousness of his own integrity ; and a despiser of money ; pursuing the true interest of his prince and country against all obstacles : sagacious to view into the remotest consequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him ; a firm friend, and a placable enemy ; sacrificing his

* The Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, in the room of the Duke of Devonshire.

† Lord Chamberlain, in the room of the Marquis of Kent.

‡ Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the removal of Lord Godolphin.

justest resentments, not only to public good, but to common intercession and acknowledgment. Yet with all these virtues, it must be granted, there is some mixture of human infirmity. His greatest admirers must confess his skill at *cards* and *dice* to be very low and superficial; in *horse-racing* he is utterly ignorant; then to save a few millions to the public, he never regards how many worthy *citizens* he hinders from making up their plumb*. And surely there is one thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his table filled with *black coats*, whom he useth as if they were *gentlemen*.

My Lord Dartmouth† is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour; of strict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his station have done the Queen.

Omitting some others, I shall close this character of the present *ministry* with that of Mr. St. John‡, who, from his youth, applying those admirable talents of nature and improvements of art to public business, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himself a *busy, important countenance*; nor learned that profound part of wisdom, to be *difficult of access*. Besides, he hath clearly mistaken the true use of *books*, which he hath thumbed and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves; not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face;

* A cant word in England for 100,000 l.

† He succeeded the Earl of Sunderland as Secretary of State.

‡ Secretary of State in the room of Mr. Henry Boyle. He was afterwards created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.



N^o 27. Thursday, February 8. 1710.

Caput est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio.

There is no vice which mankind carries to such wild extremes as that of *avarice*. Those two which seem to rival it in this point, are lust and ambition; but the former is checked by difficulties and diseases, destroys itself by its own pursuits, and usually declines with old age; and the latter requiring courage, conduct, and fortune in a higher degree, and meeting with a thousand dangers and oppositions, succeeds too seldom in an age to fall under common observation. Or, avarice is perhaps the same passion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and dastardly minds, by which the object is changed from *power* to *money*. Or it may be that one man pursues power in order to wealth; and another wealth in order to power; which last is the safer way, although longer about; and, suiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this passion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The *stage*, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very short in the representations of *avarice*; nor are there any extravagancies in this kind described by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone

outdone by an hundred instances, commonly told among ourselves.

I am ready to conclude from hence, that a vice which keeps so firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with so unlimited a tyranny, since it cannot wholly be eradicated ought at least to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the public; and should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying circumstance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can possibly enter.

If the mischiefs of this vice in a public station were confined to enriching only those particular persons employed, the evil would be more supportable; but it is usually quite otherwise. When a *steward* defrauds his *lord*, he must connive at the *rest of the servants*, while they are following the same practice in their several spheres) so that, in some families you may observe a subordination of slaves in a link downwards to the very *helper* in the stables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the master could bear it without being undone; but it so happens, that for every shilling the servant gets by his iniquity, the master loseth twenty; the perquisites of servants being but small compositions for suffering shopkeepers to bring in what bills they please. It is exactly the same thing in a state: an avaricious man in office is in confederacy with the whole *clan* of his district, or dependence; which, in modern terms of art is called *to live and let live*; and yet *their* gains are the smallest part of the public's loss. Give a guinea to a knavish *land-waiter*, and he shall connive at the merchant for cheating the Queen of an hundred. A *brewer* gives a bribe to have the privilege of selling drink to the navy; but the fraud is an hundred times greater than the bribe, and the public is at the whole loss.

Moralists make two kinds of avarice; that of Catiline, *alieni appetens, sui profusus*; and the other more generally understood by that name, which is the endless desire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a state, because it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for although the same breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not, in my opinion, much to be apprehended from ambition. The disgrace of that sordid vice is sooner apt to spread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and scorn of the people: so that whenever those two passions happen to meet in the same subject, it is not unlikely that Providence hath placed *avarice* to be a check upon *ambition*; and I have reason to think, *some great ministers of state* have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philosophers, the lashes and ridicule of satirical poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable thirst of money; and all equally controlled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing now remains to be said upon the occasion; and if there did, I must remember my character, that I am an *examiner only* and not a *reformer*.

However, in those cases where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, such as a prime minister of state, or a great general of an army; methinks there should be some expedient contrived to let them know impartially, what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompassed with a croud of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuse. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with hatred; and whatever appears in public against their prevailing vice, goes

goes for nothing ; being either not applied, or passing only for libel and slander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have sometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the first *triumvirate*, I should have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to those three great men who had then usurped the sovereign power ; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was most odious, and of worst consequence to the commonwealth. That to Crassus should have been sent to him after his conquests in Mesopotamia, and in the following terms.

“ TO MARCUS CRASSUS, health.

“ IF you apply, as you ought, what I now write, you will be more obliged to me than to all the world, hardly excepting your parents or your country. I intend to tell you, without disguise or prejudice, the opinion which the world hath entertained of you ; and to let you see, I write this without any sort of ill-will, you shall first hear the sentiments they have to your advantage. No man disputes the gracefulness of your person, you are allowed to have a good and clear understanding, cultivated by the knowledge of men and manners, although not by literature ; you are no ill orator in the senate ; you are said to excel in the art of bridling and subduing your anger, and stifling or concealing your resentments ; you have been a most successful general, of long experience, great conduct, and much personal courage ; you have gained many important victories for the commonwealth, and forced the strongest towns in Mesopotamia to surrender, for which frequent supplications have been decreed by the senate. Yet with all these qualities, and this merit, give

“ me leave to say, you are neither beloved by the
“ *patricians* nor *plebeians* at home, nor by the offi-
“ cers or private soldiers of your own army a-
“ broad. And do you know, *Crassus*, that this is
“ owing to a fault, of which you may cure your-
“ self by one minute’s reflection? What shall I
“ say? You are the richest person in the common-
“ wealth; you have no male child: your daugh-
“ ters are all married to wealthy *patricians*; you
“ are far in the decline of life, and yet you are
“ deeply stained with that odious and ignoble vice
“ of *covetousness*. It is affirmed, that you descend
“ even to the meanest and most scandalous degrees
“ of it; and while you possess so many millions,
“ while you are daily acquiring so many more, you
“ are solicitous how to save a single *sesterc*; of which
“ an hundred ignominious instances are produced,
“ and in all mens mouths. I will only mention
“ that passage of the *buskins* *, which, after abun-
“ dance of persuasion, you would hardly suffer to
“ be cut from your legs, when they were so wet
“ and cold, that to have kept them on would have
“ endangered your life.

“ Instead of using the common arguments to
“ dissuade you from this weakness, I will endea-
“ vour to convince, that you are really guilty of
“ it; and leave the cure to your own good sense.
“ for perhaps you are not yet persuaded that this
“ is your crime; you have probably never yet
“ been reproached for it to your face; and what
“ you are now told comes from one unknown, and
“ it may be from an enemy. You will allow your-
“ self indeed to be prudent in the management of
“ your fortune; you are not a prodigal, like *Clo-*
“ *dius*, or *Catiline*; but surely that deserves not
“ the name of *avarice*. I will inform you how to
“ be convinced. Disguise your person, go among

* Wet stockings.

“ the common people in Rome introduce discour-
“ ses about yourself, inquire your own character :
“ do the same in your camp ; walk about it in the
“ evening, hearken at every tent ; and if you do
“ not hear every mouth censuring, lamenting,
“ cursing this vice in you, and even you for this
“ vice, conclude yourself innocent. If you be not
“ yet persuaded, send for Atticus, Servius Sulpi-
“ cius, Cato, or Brutus ; they are all your friends ;
“ conjure them to tell you ingenuously, which is
“ your great fault, and which they would chiefly
“ wish you to correct ; if they do not agree in their
“ verdict, *in the name of all the gods*, you are ac-
“ quitted.

“ When your adversaries reflect how far you are
“ gone in this vice, they are tempted to talk as if
“ we owed our successes, not to your courage or
“ conduct, but to those *veteran* troops you com-
“ mand ; who are able to conquer under any gene-
“ ral, with so many brave and experienced officers
“ to lead them. Besides, we know the consequen-
“ ces your avarice hath often occasioned. The
“ soldier hath been starving for bread, surrounded
“ with plenty, and in an enemy’s country ; but all
“ under *safeguards* and *contributions* ; which, if you
“ had sometimes pleased to have exchanged for
“ *provisions*, might, at the expense of a few talents
“ in a campaign, have so endeared you to the ar-
“ my, that they would have desired you to lead
“ them to the utmost limits of Asia. But you ra-
“ ther chose to confine your conquests within the
“ fruitful country of Mesopotamia, where plenty
“ of money might be raised. How far that fatal
“ greediness of gold may have influenced you in
“ breaking off the treaty with the old Parthian
“ King Orodes, you best can tell ; your enemies
“ charge you with it ; your friends offer nothing
“ material in your defence ; and all agree, there is
“ nothing

“ nothing so pernicious, which the extremes of avarice may not be able to inspire.
“ The moment you quit this vice, you will be a truly great man ; and still there will imperfections enough remain to convince us, you are not a god. Farewell.”

Perhaps a letter of this nature, sent to so reasonable a man as Crassus, might have put him upon *examining* into himself, and correcting that little sordid appetite so utterly inconsistent with all pretences to *heroism*. A youth in the heat of blood may plead, with some shew of reason, that he is not able to subdue his lusts ; an ambitious man may use the same arguments for his love of power, or perhaps other arguments to justify it : but excess of avarice hath neither of these pleas to offer ; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuse. Whence can the temptation come ? Reason disclaims it altogether ; and it cannot be said to lodge in the *blood*, or the *animal spirits*. So that I conclude, “ no man of true valour, and true understanding, upon whom this vice hath stolen unawares, when he is convicted he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his breast an hour.”



No 28. Thursday, February 15. 1710.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotytia ?

An answer to the letter to the Examiner.

SIR,

London, Feb. 15. 1710-11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leisure to acknowledge the honour of a letter you was pleased to write to me about six months ago ; yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your commands, and am going on as fast as I can with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the *printing-house* : for, although I was pleased with a pattern of style and spirit, which I proposed to imitate, yet I was sorry the world should be a witness how far I fell short in both.

I am afraid you did not consider, what an abundance of work you have cut out for me ; neither am I at all comforted by the promise you are so kind to make, that when “ I have performed my task, D——n shall blush in his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, and even Volpone shall feel some remorse.” How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the sexton : but for the *other two*, I take leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least signs of *blushing* or *remorse* in either, although *some very good opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them :

them : so that, with your permission, I had rather engage to continue this work until *they be in their graves* too ; which I am sure will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect “ some of those indignities offered last year to her Majesty.” I am ready to oblige you ; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a *large volume in folio*, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my papers. Although indeed I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether ; because such a history will be apt to give foreigners a monstrous opinion of our country. But since it is your absolute opinion, that the world should be informed ; I will, with the first occasion, pick out a few *choice instances*, and let them take their chance in the ensuing papers. I have likewise in my cabinet, certain quires of paper, filled with facts of corruption, mismanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like ; with an alphabetical table, to save trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast expense I am at. I feed weekly two or three *wit starved* writers, who have no other visible support ; besides several others, who live upon my offals. In short, I am like a nurse, who suckles twins at one time, and hath, besides, *one or two whelps* constantly to draw her breasts.

I must needs confess, (and it is with grief I speak it), that I have been the innocent cause of a great circulation of dulness : at the same time I have often wondered, how it hath come to pass, that these industrious people, after poring so constantly upon the *Examiner*, a paper writ with plain sense, and in a tolerable style, have made so little improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me : for by what I have seen
of

of their performances, (and I am credibly informed they are all of a piece), if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the same cause.

You, Sir, perhaps will wonder, as most others do, what end these angry folks propose in writing perpetually against the Examiner: it is not to begot a better opinion of the late ministry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate; they know all that to be lost labour, and yet their design is important enough: they would fain provoke me, by all sorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to answer their paper; which would render mine wholly useless to the public: for if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we should be all upon a level; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman* indeed, who hath written three small pamphlets upon the *management of the war*, and *the treaty of peace*. These I had intended to have bestowed a paper in *examining*; and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controls one syllable of what I have ever advanced. Nobody that I know of did ever dispute the Duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the *weakness of his advocates*. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late ministry, the shameful mismanagements in Spain, or the wrong steps in the treaty of peace; the secret of which will not bear the light, and is, consequently, by this author very poorly defended? These, and many other things, I would have shewn;

* Dr. Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

but,

but, upon second thoughts, determined to have it done in a discourse by itself, rather than take up room here, and break into the design of this paper, from whence I have resolved to banish controversy as much as possible. But the postscript to his third pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any dealings at all with such a writer; unless that part was left to some *footman* he hath picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whose character it would suit much better than that of the supposed author: at least the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the gross perverting of an innocent expression in the fourth Examiner, joined to that respect I shall ever have for the function of a *divine*, would incline me to believe so. But when he turns off his *footman*, and disclaims that postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

But, Sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one side by the *Whigs*, for being too *severe*; and by the *Tories* on the other, for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men on both sides have of my conduct, than to send you a transcript of each. The former it exactly in these words.

To the EXAMINER.

“ MR. EXAMINER,

“ By your continual reflecting upon the conduct
 “ of the late ministry, and by your encomiums on
 “ the present, it is *as clear as the sun at noon-day*,
 “ that you are a *Jesuit* or *Nonjuror*, employed by
 “ the friends of the *pretender* to endeavour to in-
 “ troduce

" introduce *Popery*, and *slavery*, and *arbitrary power*,
 " and to infringe the *sacred act* for *toleration of dis-*
 " *senters*. Now, Sir, since *the most ingenious au-*
 " *thors*, who write weekly against you, are not able
 " to teach you better manners, I would have you
 " to know, that those great and excellent men, as
 " low as you think them at present, do not want
 " friends that will take the first proper occasion to
 " *cut your throat*, as all such enemies to modera-
 " tion ought to be served. It is well you have
 " cleared another person from being author of
 " your cursed libels; although, d—m me, perhaps
 " after all, that may be a *bamboozle* too. How-
 " ever, I hope we shall soon ferret you out.
 " Therefore I advise you as a friend to let fall
 " your pen, and retire betimes; for our patience
 " is now at an end. It is enough to lose our power
 " and employments, without setting the whole na-
 " tion against us. Consider, three years is the
 " life of a *party*; d—m me, *every dog hath his day*,
 " and it will be your turn next: therefore take
 " warning, and learn to *sleep in a whole skin*; or,
 " whenever we are uppermost, by G—d you shall
 " find no mercy."

The other letter was in the following terms.

To the EXAMINER.

" S I R,

" I am a *country-member*, and constantly send
 " a dozen of your papers down to my *electors*. I
 " have read them all, but I confess, not with the
 " satisfaction I expected. It is plain you know a
 " great deal more than you write: why will you
 " not let us have it all out? We are told, that the
 " Queen hath been a long time treated with info-
 " lence by those she hath most obliged. Pray, Sir,
 VOL III. E " let

“ let us have a few good stories upon that head.
 “ We have been cheated of several millions; why
 “ will you not set a mark on the knaves who are
 “ guilty, and shew us what ways they took to rob
 “ the public at such a rate? Inform us, how we
 “ came to be disappointed of peace about two years
 “ ago. In short, turn the whole mystery of ini-
 “ quity inside out, that every body may have a view
 “ of it. But above all, explain to us what was at
 “ the bottom of that same *impeachment*; I am sure
 “ I never liked it; for at that very time a *dissenting*
 “ preacher in our neighbourhood came often to
 “ see our parson; it could be for no good, for he
 “ would walk about the barns and the stables, and
 “ desired to look into the church, as *who should*
 “ *say, These will shortly be mine*; and we all believ-
 “ ed, he was then contriving some alterations a-
 “ gainst he got into possession. And I shall never
 “ forget, that a *Whig Justice* offered me then very
 “ high for my bishop’s lease. I must be so bold
 “ to tell you, Sir, that you are too favourable: I
 “ am sure there was no living in quiet for us, while
 “ they were in the *saddle*. I was turned out of the
 “ commission, and called a *Jacobite*, although it
 “ cost me a thousand pounds in joining with the
 “ Prince of Orange at the *revolution*. The disco-
 “ veries I would have you make, are of some facts,
 “ for which they ought to be hangd; not that I
 “ value their heads, but I would see them expof-
 “ ed, which may be done upon the *owners should-*
 “ *ers* as well as upon a *pole*,” &c.

These, Sir, are the sentiments of a whole party
 on one side, and of considerable numbers on the
 other: however, taking the medium between these
 extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done,
 although I am sensible my paper would be more
 popular, if I did not lean too much to the favour-
 able side. For nothing delights the people more,
 than

than to see their oppressors humbled, and all their actions painted with proper colours, set out in open view: *Exactos tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.*

But as for the *Whigs*, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty concern they shew for the honour of the late ministry, may not be affected; at least whether their masters will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I think, a known story of a gentleman who fought another for calling him *son of a whore*, that the lady desired her son to make no more quarrels upon that subject, *because it was true*. For, pray, Sir, doth it not look like a jest, that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and discovering the most destructive designs against our church and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies of the pen to defend their reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardest case in the world, when a poor acquaintance of mine having fallen in among sharpers, where he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain *for offering to affront gentlemen*. I believe the only reason why these purloiners of the public cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations, is to prevent inquisitions that might tend towards making them refund: like those women they call *shoplifters*, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, Sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed, in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the Earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on for having been Ecclesiastical Commissioner, and Lord Treasurer, in the reign of the late K. James. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that because he could not com-

ply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments ; of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two Popish Lords, and the present Earl of Godolphin.



No. 29. Thursday, February 22. 1710.

Laus summa in fortuna bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse aliis propter abundantiam fortunæ.

I AM conscious to myself, that I write this paper with no other intention but that of doing good. I never received injury from the late ministry ; nor advantage from the present, farther than in common with every good subject. There were among the former one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable qualities ; but proceeding by a system of politics which our constitution could not suffer, and discovering a contempt of all religion, especially of that which hath been so happily established among us ever since the reformation ; they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is possible, that a man may speculatively prefer the constitution of another country, or an Utopia of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives ; yet, from considering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present order of things, and be a true friend to the government already settled. So in religion, a man may perhaps

perhaps have little or none of it at heart ; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proselytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or discourse ; if, according to the common atheistical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe ; and that the present model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an end ; although the condition of such a man, as to his own future state, be very deplorable ; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even such a man an instrument for contributing towards the preservation of the church.

On the other side, I take a state to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a set of ambitious politicians, bred up in a hatred to the constitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting these qualities in order to keep or increase their power, by widening their bottom, and taking in, like Mahomet, some principles from every party, that is in any way discontented at the present faith and settlement ; which was manifestly our case. Upon this occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable *Whigs*, whether it did not bring a disreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of Presbyterians, Independents, Atheists, Anabaptists, Deists, Quakers, and Socinians, openly and universally listed under their banners ? They answered, that all this was absolutely necessary in order to make a balance against the *Tories* ; and all little enough : for, indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute power of disposing every employment : while the bulk of the English gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and state.

But, notwithstanding what I have hitherto said, I am informed several among the *Whigs* continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the

heads of their party to have entertained any designs of ruining the constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have discovered a secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one after those *overt acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *farce*? But perhaps they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorously; that the question may remain, *Why was the old ministry changed?* which they urge on without ceasing, as if no occasion in the least had been given; but that all were owing to the insinuations of crafty men, practising upon the weakness of an easy prince: I shall therefore offer among an hundred one reason for this change, which I think would justify any monarch who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the histories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their *minions*, who have been ever justly odious to the people for their insolence and avarice, and ingrossing the favours of their masters. Whoever hath been the least conversant in the English story, cannot but have heard of Gaveston, the Spencers, and some others, who, by the excess and abuse of their power, cost the princes they served, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the case of *minions*, it must at least be acknowledged, that the prince is pleased and happy, although his subjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendship to excuse him, which is a disposition of generous minds. Besides, a wise *minion*, although he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his master, and cultivates his favour by obedience and respect. But *our* misfortune hath been a great deal worse; we have suffered for some years under the oppression, the avarice, and insolence of those for whom the Queen had neither esteem nor friendship;

ship; who rather seemed to snatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their sovereign; and were so far from returning respect, that they forgot common good manners. They imposed on their prince, by urging the *necessity of affairs* of their own creating: they first raised difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themselves in power. They united themselves, against nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full possession of the court: then they urged the formidable strength of that party, and the dangers which must follow by disobliging it. So that it seems almost a miracle, how a princess thus besieged on all sides, could *alone* have courage and prudence enough to extricate herself.

And indeed there is a point of history relating to this matter, which well deserveth to be considered. When her Majesty came to the crown, she took into favour and employment several persons, who were esteemed the best friends of the old constitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *high-church* principles (as they are usually called) than two or three who had at that time most credit; and ever since, until within these few months, possessed all power at court. So that the first umbrage given to the *Whigs*, and the pretences for clamouring against France and the pretender, were derived from them. And I believe nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different opinions should ever incorporate; that party having upon former occasions treated those very persons with enmity enough. But some Lords then about court, and in the Queen's good graces, not able to endure those growing impositions upon the prince and people, presumed to interpose; and were consequently soon removed and disgraced. However, when a most exorbitant grant

was

was proposed, antecedent to any visible merit, it miscarried in parliament for want of being seconded by those who had most credit in the house; and who, having always opposed the like excesses in a former reign, thought it their duty to do so still, to shew the world, that the dislike was not against persons but things. But this was to cross the *oligarchy* in the tenderest point; a point which outweighed all considerations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the constitution: and therefore, after having in several private meetings concerted measures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their style and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emissaries, that *England must be saved by Whigs*. This unnatural league was afterwards cultivated by another incident, I mean the *act of security*, and the consequences of it, which every body knows; when (to use the words of my correspondent *) *the sovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister*. Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the ministry and the *junto*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual danger in that storm they so narrowly escaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till Prince George's death †; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied with their several shares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the first, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and state.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled question, *Why was the late ministry changed?* may receive the following answer: That it was be-

* Letter to the Examiner.

† Prince George of Denmark, husband to the queen.

come necessary by the insolence and avarice of some about the Queen, who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monstrous alliance with those who profess principles destructive to our religion and government. If this will not suffice; let him make an abstract of all the abuses I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his opinion a few weeks longer. Altho', after all, I think the question as trifling as that of the Papists, when they ask us, *Where was our religion before Luther?* And indeed the ministry was changed for the same reasons that religion was reformed; because a thousand corruptions had crept into the *discipline* and *doctrine* of the *state* by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of those *who administered to us in secular affairs*.

I heard myself censured the other day in a coffee-house for seeming to glance in the letter to Crassus against a great man, who is still in employment, and likely to continue so. What if I had really intended that such an application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a reproof. If I saw a handsome young fellow going to a ball at court with a great *smut* upon his face, could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and desire him, with abundance of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glass, where he might plainly see it with his own eyes? Doth any man think I shall suffer my pen to inveigh against vices, only because they are charged upon persons who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or less pernicious according to the stations of those who possess them. For example, lewdness and intemperance are not of so bad consequences in a town-rake as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more supportable than in an officer of the army. If I should find fault with

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an admiral, because he wanted *politeness*; or an alderman, for not understanding Greek; that indeed would be to go out of the way for occasion of quarrelling. But excessive avarice in a general is, I think, the greatest defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct, and may be attended with the most ruinous consequences, as it was in Crassus, who to that vice alone owed the destruction of himself and his army. It is the same thing in praising mens excellencies; which are more or less valuable, as the person you commend hath occasion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honestly; yet if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my vote to be a secretary. Another may have wit and learning in a post where honesty, with plain common sense, are of much more use. You may praise a soldier for his skill at *chess*, because it is said to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treasurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a *gamester*, or a *jockey*.

P. S. I have received a letter relating to Mr. Green Shields; the person that sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next paper.



No 30. Thursday, March 1. 1710.

Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque dissidiis funditus possit everti.

IF we examine what societies of men are in closest union among themselves, we shall find them either to be those who are engaged in some evil design, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of *banditti* in several countries abroad, the knots of *highwaymen* in our own nation, the several tribes of *sharpers*, *thieves*, and *pickpockets*, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several *gangs*: so likewise those who are fellow-sufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict union; as we may observe in the *Papists* throughout this kingdom under those real difficulties which are justly put on them; and in the several schisms of *Presbyterians*, and other sects, under that grievous persecution of the modern kind, called, *want of power*. And the reason why such confederacies are kept so sacred and inviolable, is very plain; because in each of those cases I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one spirit in pursuit of one general end, and the interest of individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

Now, both these motives are joined to unite the *high-flying Whigs* at present: they have been always engaged in an *evil design*, and of late they are fast,

or

or rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loss of power. So that whatever design a mischievous crew of dark confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

On the other side, those who wish well to the public, and would gladly contribute to its service, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it; and when their party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in power; ready to overvalue their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a farther topic of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into in relation to *retrospections*, and inquiry into past mis-carriages; wherein *some* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiss; while in the mean time these divisions are industriously fomented by the discarded faction; which, although it be an old practice, hath been much improved in the schools of the *Jesuits*, who, when they despaired of perverting this nation to *Popery* by arguments or plots against the state, sent their emissaries to subdivide us into schisms. And this expedient is now with great propriety taken up by our men of *incensed moderation*; because they suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our subdivisions, and to subdue us one after another. Nothing better resembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adversaries, after he had divided them by a stratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this should be touched; yet at the same time I think it my duty to *warn* the friends, as well as *expose* the enemies of the public weal; and to begin preaching up *union* upon the first suspicion; that any steps are made to disturb it.

But

But the two chief subjects of discontent, which upon most great changes in the management of public affairs are apt to breed differences among those who are in possession, are what I have just now mentioned ; a desire of punishing the corruption of former managers ; and the rewarding *merit* among those who have been any way instrumental or consenting to the change. The first of these is a point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it : but the latter I take to fall properly within my district. By *merit* I here understand that value which every man puts upon his own deservings from the public. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of paymaster-general to this sort of *merit* ; or a more noisy, crowded place, than a court of *judicature* erected to settle and adjust every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dressed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction ; and given us a genealogy and description of *merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and description of MERIT.

“ That *True Merit* was the son of Virtue and Honour ; but that there was likewise a spurious child, who usurped the name, and whose parents were Vanity and Impudence. That at a distance there was a great resemblance between them, and they were often mistaken for each other. That the *bastard-issue* had a loud shrill voice, which was perpetually employed in *cravings* and *complaints* ; while the other never spoke louder than a *whisper*, and was often so bashful, that he could not speak at all. That in all great assemblies the *False Merit* would step before the *True*, and stand just in his way ; was constantly

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“ at court, or great mens *levees*, or whispering in
 “ some minister’s ear. That the more you fed
 “ him, the more hungry and importunate he grew.
 “ That he often passed for the true son of Virtue
 “ and Honour, and the genuine for an impostor.
 “ That he was born distorted and a dwarf, but by
 “ force of art appeared of a handsome shape, and
 “ taller than the usual size; and that none but
 “ those who were wise and good as well as vigi-
 “ lant, could discover his littleness or deformity.
 “ That the *True Merit* had been often forced to
 “ the indignity of applying to the *False* for his
 “ credit with those in power, and to keep himself
 “ from starving. That *False Merit* filled the an-
 “ techambers with a crew of his dependents and
 “ creatures; such as *projectors*, *schematists*, *occa-*
 “ *sional converts to a party*, *prostitute-flatterers*,
 “ *starveling writers*, *buffoons*, *shallow politicians*,
 “ *empty orators*, and the like; who all owned him
 “ for their patron, and grew discontented, if they
 “ were not immediately fed.”

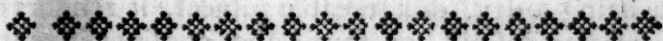
This metaphorical description of *false merit* is, I
 doubt, calculated for most countries in Christen-
 dom. As to our own, I believe it may be said
 with a sufficient reserve of charity, that we are
 fully able to reward every man among us according
 to his real deservings: and, I think, I may add
 without suspicion of flattery, that never any prince
 had a ministry with a better judgement to distin-
 guish between *false* and *real merit*, than that which
 is now at the helm; or whose inclination, as well
 as interest, was greater to encourage the latter.
 And it ought to be observed, that those great and
 excellent persons we see at the head of affairs, are
 of the Queen’s own, *personal, voluntary choice*; not
 forced upon her by any *insolent, overgrown, favou-*
rite, or by the pretended necessity of complying with
 an *unruly faction*.

Yct

Yet these are the persons whom those scandals to the press, in their daily pamphlets and papers, openly revile at so ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For surely no lawful power derived from a prince should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller: because in this point I make a mighty difference between those who are *in*, and those who are *out* of power; not upon any regard to their persons, but the stations they are placed in by the sovereign. And if my distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether if a stranger were to read the invectives which are daily published against the present ministry, and the outrageous fury of the authors against me for censuring the last, he would not conclude the *Whigs* to be at this time in full possession of power and favour, and the *Tories* entirely at mercy. But all this now ceases to be a wonder, since the Queen herself is no longer spared; witness the libel published some days ago, under the title of *A letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, where the reflections upon her Sacred Majesty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious persons in the *ministry*, discarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country. Cæsar indeed threatened to hang the *pirates* for presuming to disturb him, while he was their prisoner aboard their ship. But it was Cæsar who did so, and he did it to a crew of *public robbers*; and it became the greatness of his spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had they been in his power, and sent such a message, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madness.

I had a letter last week relating to Mr. Greenfields, an *Episcopal* clergyman of Scotland, and the writer seems to be a gentleman of that part of

Britain I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr. Greenshields's case, who has been prosecuted and silenced for no other reason besides reading divine service after the manner of the church of England to his own congregation, who desired it; though, as the gentleman who writes to me says, there is no law in Scotland against those meetings; and he adds, that the sentence pronounced against Mr. Greenshields *will soon be affirmed, if some care be not taken to prevent it.* I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this case, and besides, to treat it justly would not come within the compass of my paper; therefore I could wish the gentleman would undertake it in a discourse by itself; and I should be glad he would inform the public in one fact; whether *Episcopal* assemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence some years ago into England and Ireland, as from a persecution; but it was alledged by their enemies, that they refused to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them scrupled when they came among us. It is somewhat extraordinary to see our *Whigs* and *fanatics* keep such a stir about the *sacred act of toleration*, while their *brethren* will not allow a connivance in so near a neighbourhood; especially if what the gentleman insists on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are *Episcopal*; of which one argument he offereth is the present choice of their representatives in both houses, though opposed to the utmost by the *preachings, threatenings, and anathemas* of the *kirk*. Such usage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous consequence; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the principles of the *high-kirk*, God preserve at least the southern parts from their tyranny.



No 31. Thursday, March 8. 1710.

——— *Garris anniles.*
Ex re fabellas.

I Had last week sent me by an unknown hand a passage out of Plato, with some hints how to apply it That author puts a fable into the mouth of Aristophanes, with an account of the original of *love*: That mankind was at first created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till Jupiter, as a punishment for his sins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; since which time we are always looking out for our other half: and this is the cause of *love*. But Jupiter threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them the other slit, and leave them to hop about in the shape of figures in *basso relievo*. The effect of this last threatening, my correspondent imagines, is now come to pass; and that as the first *splitting* was the original of *love*, by inclining us to search for our other half; so the second was the cause of *hatred* by prompting us to fly from our *other side*, and dividing the same *body* into two, gave each slice the name of a party.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for *parties* do not only split a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their strength, and wit, and honesty, and good nature; but one eye and ear for their sight and hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the senses. Where *parties* are pretty equal in a state, no man can perceive one bad quality in his

own, or good one in his adversaries. Besides, *party* being a dry, disagreeable subject, it renders conversation insipid, or sour, and confines invention. I speak not here of the leaders, but the insignificant croud of followers in a party, who have been the instruments of mixing it in every condition and circumstance of life. As the zealots among the Jews bound the law about their foreheads, and wrists, and hems of their garments; so the women among us have got the distinguishing marks of *party* in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The *Whig* ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the *Tories*. They have made *schisms* in the *playhouse*, and each have their particular sides at the *opera*: and when a man changeth his *party*, he must infallibly count upon the loss of his mistress. I asked a gentleman the other day, how he liked such a lady? but he would not give me his opinion, till I had answered him whether she were a *Whig* or a *Tory*. Mr. —, since he is known to visit the present ministry, and lay some time under a suspicion of writing the *examiner*, is no longer a man of wit; his very poems have contracted a stupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of *Merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *Party*, or rather of *Faction* (to avoid mistake), not telling the reader whether it be my own, or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read or dreamed it, the fable is as follows.

“ Liberty, the daughter of Oppression, after having brought forth several fair children, as
 “ Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many others, was at last delivered of her youngest
 “ daughter, called Faction, whom Juno, doing
 “ the office of the midwife, distorted in its birth
 “ out

“ out of envy to the mother, from whence it derived its *peevishness* and sickly constitution. However, as it is often the nature of parents to grow most fond of their youngest and disagreeablest children, so it happened with Liberty, who doted on this daughter to such a degree, that by her good-will she would never suffer the girl to be out of her sight. As Miss Faction grew up, she became so termagant and froward, that there was no enduring her any longer in *heaven*. Jupiter gave her warning to be gone; and her mother, rather than forsake her, took the whole family down to *earth*. She landed first in Greece; was expelled by degrees through all the cities by her daughter's ill-conduct: fled afterwards to Italy, and being banished thence, took shelter among the Goths, with whom she passed into most parts of Europe; but, being driven out every where, she began to lose esteem, and her daughter's faults were imputed to herself: so that at this time she has hardly a place in the world to retire to. One would wonder what strange qualities this daughter must possess, sufficient to blast the influence of so divine a mother, and the rest of her children. She always affected to keep mean and scandalous company; valuing no body, but just as they agreed with her in every capricious opinion she thought fit to take up; and rigorously exacting compliance, though she changed her sentiments ever so often. Her great employment was to breed *discord* among friends and relations, and make up monstrous alliances between those whose dispositions least resembled each other. Whoever offered to contradict her, though in the most insignificant trifle, she would be sure to distinguish by some ignominious *appellation*, and allow them to have neither honour, wit, beauty, learning, honesty, or common sense. She intruded into all companies

"panies at the most unseasonable times; mixed at
 "balls, assemblies, and other parties of pleasure,
 "haunted every *coffeehouse* and *booksellers shop*, and
 "by her perpetual talking filled all places with dis-
 "turbance and confusion: she buzzed about the
 "merchant in the Exchange, the *divine* in his *pul-*
 "pit, and the *shopkeeper* behind his counter. A-
 "bove all, she frequented *public assemblies*, where
 "she sat in the shape of an *obscene, ominous bird*,
 "ready to prompt her *friends* as they spoke."

If I understand this fable of Faction right, it ought to be applied to those who set themselves up against the true interest and constitution of their country; which I wish the undertakers for the late ministry would please to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a majority, with the Queen at their head, by the name of *the faction*; which is not unlike the phrase of the *Nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived bishops and half a score clergymen of the same stamp with the title of the *Church of England*, exclude all the rest as *schismatics*; or like the *Presbyterians* laying the same accusation, with equal justice, against the established religion.

And here it may be worth inquiring, what are the true characteristics of a *faction*; or how it is to be distinguished from that great body of the people, who are friends to the constitution? the heads of a *faction* are usually a set of upstarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom some great change in a government did at first out of their obscurity produce upon the stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old establishment, religious and civil. They are full of new schemes in politics and divinity; they have an incurable hatred against the old nobility, and strengthen their party by dependents raised from the lowest of the people.

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They have several ways of working themselves into power ; but they are sure to be called, when a corrupt administration wants to be supported against those who are endeavouring at a reformation ; and they firmly observe that celebrated maxim of preserving *power* by the same arts by which it is attained. They act with the spirit of those who believe their time is but short ; and their first care is to heap up immense riches at the public expense ; in which they have two ends besides that common one of insatiable avarice, which are to make themselves necessary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compass their design, which is, instead of fitting their principles to the constitution, to alter and adjust the constitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is easy determining by this test, to which side the name of *faction* most properly belongs. But however, I will give them any system of law or regal government, from William the Conqueror to this present time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models ; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch.

If the present ministry, and so great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a *faction*, it must appear by some actions, which answer the idea we usually conceive from that word. Have they abused the prerogative of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the subject ? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or state ? Have they broached any doctrine of heresy, rebellion, or tyranny ? Have any of them treated their sovereign with insolence, ingrossed and sold all her favours, or deceived her by base, gross misrepresentations of her most faithful servants ? These are the arts of a *faction* ; and whoever hath practised them, they and their followers must take up with the name.

It

It is usually reckoned a *Whig* principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their understandings beforehand. Will they now stand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which side their title of *faction* belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their understanding and choice, I believe our adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this appeal, and it is reasonable they should; and I will further add, that if our people resembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in such a trial. A pragmatICAL orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you whenever they are in their wits. But God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and before the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.





N^o 32. Thursday, March 15, 1710.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellam adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina est ista, et crudelitas. Hi midentur reipublicæ, qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam strumam civitatis.

I AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprising nature. A great minister, in high confidence with the Queen, under whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie, sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the state, is stabbed at the very board, in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French *Papist* *, then under examination for high treason; the assassin redoubles his blow to make sure work; and concluding the Chancellor was dispatched †, goes on with the same rage to murder a principal Secretary of State ‡: And that whole noble assembly are forced to rise and draw

* The Abbot de Bourlie, who having quitted his native country, solicited to be employed against it in several courts of Europe, and assumed the title of Marquis de Guiscard. He at length obtained a commission from Q. Anne, and embarked in an expedition against France, which miscarried; and his expectations being disappointed by the new ministry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a spy, and commenced a treasonable correspondence; his letters were intercepted, and produced to him by Mr. Harley, at his examination.

† Mr. Harley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Earl of Oxford.

‡ Mr. Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.

their

their swords in their own defence, as if a wild beast had been let loose among them.

This fact hath some circumstances of aggravation not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in history. Cæsar's murder being performed in the senate comes nearest to the case; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief senators, who were likewise the actors in it; and not the work of a vile single ruffian. Harry the Third of France was stabbed by an enthusiastic friar, whom he suffered to approach his person, while those who attended him stood at some distance. His *successor* met the same fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles in such a confinement were able to defend themselves. In our own country we have, I think, but one instance of this sort, which has made any noise; I mean that of Felton about fourscore years ago; but he took the opportunity to stab the Duke of Buckingham in passing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen nor heard, and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, the act of Felton will admit of some extenuation from the motive he is said to have had: But this attempt of Guiscard seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister; for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible, it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains: it is so unfortunate to produce; yet at the same time, it must be avowed, that the French have for these last centuries been somewhat too liberal of their daggers

daggers upon the persons of their greatest men ; such as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guise father and son, and the two kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing, and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence ; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures ; whose essentialities are generally so superficial ; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villanies, more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian ; unless it be, that in a nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts for want of evaporating usually terminates in rage or despair, D' Avila observes, that Jacques Clement * was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friars used to make sport with ; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his King.

But in the Marquis de Guiscard there seems to have been a complication of ingredients for such an attempt. He had committed several enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vitious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, such as in vulgar physiognomy is called an *ill look*. For the rest, his talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior cunning, but very small abilities ; so that a great man of the late ministry, by whom he was invited over, and with much discretion raised at first step, from a profligate *Papish priest* to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, was at last forced to drop him for shame.

* The monk who stabbed Henry III. of France.

Had such an accident happened under that ministry, and to such a considerable member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of those they are pleased to call the *faction*. This would have been styled a *high-church principle*; the clergy would have been accused, as promoters and abettors of the fact; committees would have been sent to promise the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confession; and a *black list* would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the murderer's company. But the present men in power hate and despise all such detestable arts, which they might now turn upon their adversaries with much more plausibility, than ever these did their honourable negotiations with Greg*.

And here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons once in great power and a French *Papist*; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. Harley's life, though differing in their methods; the first proceeding by subornation the other by

* In the beginning of the year 1788, William Greg, an under-clerk to Mr. Secretary Harley, was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, one of the French King's ministers; to whom he transmitted the proceedings of both houses of parliament, with respect to the augmentation of the British forces, and other papers of great importance. Greg, when he was indicted of this treason, pleaded guilty: which gave occasion to Mr. Harley's enemies to insinuate that he was privy to Greg's practices, and had by assurances of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witnesses. The house of Lords appointed a committee of seven, of whom Lord Sunderland was manager, to inquire into the affair. The committee presented an address to the Queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr. Harley's papers had been long exposed to the meanest clerks in his office; and it was requested, that more caution might be used for the future. Upon this address, the execution of Greg was deferred a month; during which time he was solicited, threatened, and promised; but still persisting to take the whole guilt upon himself, he was at length executed, having, in a paper, which he left behind him, justified Mr. Harley in particular; which he would scarce have thought necessary, if no particular attempt had been made against him,

violence;

violence ; wherein Guiscard seems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life ; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the government. It was Mr. Harley who detected the treasonable correspondence of Greg, and secured him betimes ; when a certain great man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. Harley : But when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the Secretary : But, to use Greg's own expression, " His death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that must be saved by prostituting his conscience." The same gentleman now lies stabbed by his other enemy, a *Papist spy*, whose treason he hath discovered. God preserve the rest of her Majesty's ministers from such *Protestants*, and from such *Papists* !

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at a distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confessed in Newgate, that his chief design was against Mr. Secretary St. John, who happened to change seats with Mr. Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal : and being asked what provoked him to stab the Chancellor, he said, that not being able to come at the Secretary as he intended, it was some satisfaction to murder the person whom he thought Mr. St. John loved best *.

* How much he was mistaken, appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham.

And here, if Mr. Harley hath still any enemies left, whom his blood spilt in the public service cannot reconcile, I hope they will at least admire his magnanimity, which is a quality esteemed even in an enemy: and I think there are few greater instances of it to be found in story. After the wound was given, he was observed neither to change his countenance, nor discover any concern or disorder in his speech. He rose up and walked about the room, while he was able, with the greatest tranquility during the height of the confusion. When the surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, because in that case, he said, he had some affairs to settle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow against a rib, within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound or his cloaths) as the surgeon was going to dress him: he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himself, gave it some body to keep, saying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him*. He shewed no sort of resentment, nor spoke one violent word against Guiscard, but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the company. A state of mind, which in such an exigency nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Christian philosopher.

If there be really so great a difference in principle between the *high-flying Whigs* and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the question, how came they to join in the destruction of the same man? Can his death be possibly for the interest of both? or have they both the same quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous designs of our enemies? However it be, this great minister may now say with St. Paul, that he hath been "in perils by his own country-men, and in perils by strangers."

In

In the midst of so melancholy a subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that such a savage monster as the Marquis de Guiscard is none of her production; a wretch perhaps more detestable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to represent him to the world. For there are good reasons to believe, from several circumstances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than those he happened to execute; I mean such as every good subject must tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently seen going up the back-stairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her Majesty's bedchamber. He hath often, and earnestly pressed, for some time, to have access to the Queen, even since his correspondence with France. And he has now given such a proof of his disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an occasion as this, and direct a punishment * some way proportionable to so execrable a crime.

*Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita.*

* An act was immediately passed to make an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy.



No 33. Thursday, March 22, 1710.

De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi assentior.

THE *apologies* of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful parts of their writings, and to have done greatest service to the Christian religion; because they removed those misrepresentations which had done it most injury. The methods these writers took, were openly and freely to discover every point of their faith, to detect the falsehood of their accusers, and to charge nothing upon their adversaries but what they were sure to make good. This example hath been ill followed of later times; the *papists* since the reformation using all arts to palliate the absurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thousand calumnies; the consequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate separation. It is the same thing in civil schisms; a *Whig* forms an image of a *Tory* just after the thing he most abhors, and that image serveth to represent the whole body.

I am not sensible of any material difference there is between those who call themselves the *old Whigs*, and a great majority of the present *Tories*, at least by all I could ever find from examining several persons of each denomination. But it must be confessed, that the present body of *Whigs*, as they now constitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox professor either in religion or government, whose opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their number; while

while the bulk of the landed men and people were entirely of the old sentiments. However, they still pretended a due regard to the *monarchy* and the *church*, even at the time when they were making the largest steps towards the ruin of both: but not being able to wipe off the many accusations laid to their charge, they endeavoured, by throwing of scandal, to make the *Tories* appear blacker than themselves; that so the people might join with *them*, as the smaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the *Whigs* have flung upon their adversaries, there is none hath done them more service than that of *passive obedience*, as they represent it, with the consequences of *non-resistance*, *arbitrary power*, *indefeasible right*, *tyranny*, *Popery*, and what not. There is no accusation which hath passed with more plausibility than this, nor any that is supported with less justice. In order therefore to undeceive those who have been misled by false representations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to set this matter in a fair light, which I think hath not yet been done. A *Whig* asks, whether you hold *passive-obedience*? You affirm it: he then immediately cries out, you are a *Jacobite*, a *friend of France* and the *Pretender*! because he makes you answerable for the definition he hath formed of that term, however different it be from what you understand. I will therefore give two descriptions of *passive obedience*; the first as it is falsely charged by the *Whigs*, the other as it is really professed by the *Tories*, at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

THE doctrine of *passive obedience* is to believe, that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only answer-

answerable to him : that such a king is above all law ; that the cruellest tyrant must be submitted to in all things ; and if his commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other weapons than *prayers* and *tears*. Although he should force your wife or daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diversion ; you are still to wish him a long, prosperous reign, and be patient under all his cruelties with the same resignation as under a plague or a famine ; because to resist him would be to resist God in the person of his vicegerent. If a king of England should go thro' the streets of London, in order to murder every man he met, *passive obedience* commands them to submit. All laws made to limit him signify nothing, although passed by his own consent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a severe account ; but the whole people united to a man cannot presume to hold his hands, or offer him the least *active disobedience* ; the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worse than what I have described, although a fool or a madman, hath a divine indefeasible right to succeed him, which no law can disannul ; nay, although he should kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately King to all intents and purposes ; the possession of the crown wiping off all stains. But whosoever sits on the throne without this title, though ever so peaceably, and by consent of former kings and parliaments, is an *usurper*, while there is any where in the world another person, who hath a nearer hereditary right ; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal sin, till that heir be restored, because he hath a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This

This and a great deal more hath, in a thousand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of *passive obedience*, which the *Whigs* are pleased to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually instilling into the people, as the undoubted principle, by which the present ministry, and a great majority in parliament do at this time proceed. This is what they accuse the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine absolutely necessary to salvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *passive obedience* is due to the supreme power, he is presently loaded by our candid adversaries with such consequences as these. Let us therefore see what this doctrine is, when stript of such misrepresentations, by describing it as really taught and practised by the *Tories*; and then it will appear what grounds our adversaries have to accuse us upon this article.

*Passive obedience, as professed and practised by the
TORIES.*

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited power, to which *passive obedience* is due. That whoever is intrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleasure, whatever laws it thinks fit; and justly demand universal obedience and non-resistance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the King or Queen, together with the Lords and Commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatsoever made by that power, are to be actively or passively obeyed. That the administration, or executive part of this power is in England solely intrusted with the prince, who in administering those laws ought to be no more resisted than the legislative power itself. But they do not conceive the same absolute *passive obedience*

dience to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he hath consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued, as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of England should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But if he interpose his royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so; after which it becomes a case of necessity, and then I suppose a free people may assert their own rights, yet without any violation to the person or lawful power of the prince. But altho' the *Tories* allow all this, and did justify it by the share they had in the *revolution*; yet they see no reason for entering into so ungrateful a subject, or raising controversies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehensions of *tyranny* under the reign of so excellent a prince, and while we have so many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when, according to those who know our constitution best, things rather seem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the succession; the *Tories* think an *hereditary right* to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution; yet at the same time they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament; and so is *magna charta* too, if the legislature think fit: which is a truth so manifest, that no man who understands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

These I take to be the sentiments of a great majority among the *Tories* with respect to *passive obedience*; and if the *Whigs* insist, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to
form

form a judgment of the whole body, according to the first account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their side, who are utterly against *passive obedience* even to the legislature; who will assert the last resort of power to be in the people against those whom they have chosen and trusted as their representatives, with the prince at the head; and who will put wild improbable cases to shew the reasonableness and necessity of resisting the legislative power in such imaginary junctures. Than which however nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake in any system of government, either speculative or practic, that was ever yet in the world, from Plato's republic to Harrington's Oceana, to put such difficulties as cannot be answered.

All the other calumnies raised by the *Whigs* may be as easily wiped off; and I have charity to wish they could as fully answer the just accusations we have against them. Dodwell, Hickes, and Leslie are gravely quoted to prove, that the *Tories* design to bring in the pretender; and if I should quote them to prove that the same thing is intended by the *Whigs*, it would be full as reasonable; since I am sure they have at least as much to do with *Non-jurors* as we. But our objections against the *Whigs* are built upon their constant practice for many years, whereof I have produced an hundred instances, against any single one of which no answer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written against the Examiner; such a task as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my mistakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the *meanest* adversary. Upon which occasion I shall take leave to add a few words.

I flat-

I flattered myself last Thursday, from the nature of my subject, and the inoffensive manner I handled it, that I should have one week's respite from those merciless pens, whose severity will some time break my heart : but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two *lies* and a *blunder*. The first *lie* is a truth, that Guiscard was invited over ; but it is of no consequence. I do not tax it as a fault ; such sort of men have often been serviceable : I only blamed the indiscretion of raising a profligate abbot, at the first step, to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, without staying some reasonable time, as is usual in such cases, until he had given some proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that interest and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is said to be another lie ; for he was a *Papist*, and could not have a regiment : however, this other lie is a truth too ; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent, Monsieur le Bas, for his use. The third is a *blunder*, that I say Guiscard's design was against Mr. Secretary St. John, and yet my reasonings upon it are, as if it were personally against Mr. Harley. But I say no such thing, and my reasonings are just. I relate only what Guiscard said in Newgate, because it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know, (and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itself, after my reflections) ; but I never meant to be answerable for what Guiscard said, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw conclusions from thence, when I had the address of both houses to direct me better ; where it is expressly said, " that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her Majesty, " and zeal for her service, have drawn upon him " the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and " faction." This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

But

But, alas! these are not the passages which have raised so much fury against me. One or two mistakes in facts of no importance, or a single blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not so tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occasioned by those passages in that paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and with the utmost reluctance are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiscard from a design against Mr. Harley's life; but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who, in the business of Greg, were equally guilty of the *same design* against the *same person*; whose *tongues were very swords*, and whose *penknives were axes*.



No 34. Thursday, March 29, 1711.

— *Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi;*
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentum mortalia tangunt.

I Begin to be heartily weary of my employment as Examiner; which I wish the ministry would consider with half so much concern as I do, and assign me some other with less pains, and a pension. There may soon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am *equally* qualified for each; but this trade of *examining*, I apprehend, may at one time or other, go near to sour my temper. I did lately propose, that some of those *ingenious* pens which are engaged on the other side, might be employed to succeed me; and I undertook to bring them over for *t'other crown*: but

it was answered, that those gentlemen do much better service in the stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuses yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other subjects that came into my head. On the other side, the advice of some friends, and the threats of many enemies, have put me upon considering what would become of me, *if times should alter*: this I have done very maturely, and the result is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant, that what I have said upon occasion, concerning the late men in power, may be called satire by some unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I must give them warning beforehand, that I shall expect to be a *favourite*, and that those pretended advocates of theirs will be pillored for *libellers*. For I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one single action or design, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for merit, when they come again to the head of affairs? I said, they were insolent to the Queen: will they not value themselves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold assertors of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were against a peace: will they be angry with me for setting forth the refinements of their politics, in pursuing the only method left to preserve them in power? I said, they had involved the nation in debts, and ingrossed much of its money: they go beyond me, and boast they have got it *all*, and the *credit* too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government: if they destroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyric than an affront? I said, they had formerly

merly a design against Mr. Harley's * life: if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for justifying the sincerity of their intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy patriots, which may not be as well excused: therefore as soon as they resume their places, I positively design to put in my claim; and I think, may do it with a better grace than many of that party who now make their court to the present ministry. I know two or three great men, at whose levees you may daily observe a score of the most forward faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But I conceive, my pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel case: Suppose K. Charles I. had entirely subdued the rebels at Naseby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reason from the former conduct of those *saints*, that if the victory had fallen on their side, they would have murdered their prince, destroyed monarchy and the church, and made the King's party compound for their estates as delinquents, would have been called a false uncharitable libeller by those very persons, who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *work of the Lord*, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a person fined and imprisoned for *scandalum magnatum*, because he said the Duke of York was a Papist: but when that prince came to be King, and made open profession of his religion, he had the justice immediately to release his prisoner, who in his opinion had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach: and therefore Colonel Titus, who had warmly asserted the same thing in parliament, was made a privy counsellor.

By this rule, if that which for some politic rea-

* See The Examiner, No. 35.

sons is now called scandal upon the late ministry, proves one day to be only an abstract of such a character as they will assume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretensions, and hope for their favour : and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have observed in those papers that come out weekly against the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my masters ; that I *blunder* and betray the cause ; and write with more bitterness against those who hire me, than against the Whigs. Now, I took all this at first only for so many strains of wit, and pretty paradoxes to divert the reader ; but, upon further thinking, I find they are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present ministry for their dutiful behaviour to the Queen, for their love of the old constitution in church and state, for their generosity and justice, and for their desire of a speedy honourable peace : but it seems I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for satire, because it is directly contrary to the practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their notions of a good ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reason on their side : for, suppose I should write the character of an honest, a religious, and a learned man ; and send the first to Newgate, the second to the Grecian coffeehouse, and the last to White's ; would they not all pass for satires, and justly enough, among the companies to whom they were sent ?

Having therefore employed several papers in such sort of *panegyrics*, and but very few on what they understand to be *satires*, I shall henceforth upon occasion be more liberal of the latter ; of which they are like to have a taste in the remainder of this present paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom hath received by the late change of ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be the calling of the present

present parliament upon the dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent assembly hath entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some years past, by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority, in concert with a most corrupt administration. It is plain, by the present choice of members, that electors of England, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true interest. The moderate Whigs begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong hands, and that things are now as they should be : and that as the present house of Commons is the best representative of the nation, that hath ever been summoned in our memories, so they have taken care in their first session, by that noble bill of *qualification* *, that future parliaments should be composed of landed men ; and our properties lie no more at the mercy of those who have none themselves, or at least only what is transient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in posterity, the memory of this assembly will be always celebrated ; if otherwise, at least we, who share in the blessings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I design in some following papers to draw up a list (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament hath already performed ; the many abuses they have detected ; their justice in deciding elections without regard to party ; their cheerfulness and address in raising supplies for the war, and at the same time providing for the nation's debts ; their duty to the Queen, and their kindness to the church. In the mean time I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which, in my opinion, do discover, in some measure, the temper of the present parliament, and bear analogy to those passages related

* The qualification required by this act is some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion. See N^o 44.

by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men ; which, as himself observeth, “ although they be “ not of actions which make any great noise or figure in history, yet give more light into the “ characters of persons, than we could receive “ from an account of their most renowned achievements.”

Something like this may be observed from two late instances of *decency* and *good nature* in that illustrious assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when after that inhuman attempt upon Mr. Harley they were pleased to vote an address to the Queen, wherein they express their utmost detestation of the fact, their high esteem and great concern for that able minister, and justly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her Majesty's service, which had *drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction*. I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a mark of honour and good-will from such a parliament was more acceptable to a person of Mr. Harley's generous nature, than the most *bountiful grant* that was ever yet made to a subject ; as her Majesty's answer, filled with gracious expressions in his favour, adds more to his *real glory*, than any *titles* she could bestow. The prince and representatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for so important a life : These are the true rewards of virtue ; and this is the commerce between noble spirits in a coin which the *giver* knows where to bestow, and the *receiver* how to value, although neither *avarice* nor *ambition* would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other instance I intend to produce of *decency* and *good nature* in the present house of Commons, relates to their most worthy speaker * ; who having unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly, moved with a generous pity for so sensible an af-

* William Bromley. Esq;

fiction, adjoured themselves for a week, that so good a servant of the public might have some interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman hath too just an occasion for his grief by the death of a son who had already acquired so great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be so great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I must desire one favour of the reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any paper written against the *Examiner*, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in such papers, but be so just to read the paragraph referred to; which I am confident will be found a sufficient answer to all that ever those papers can object; at least I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single quotation transcribed with common candor.



No. 35. Thursday, April 5. 1711.

Nullo suo peccato impediuntur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

I Have been considering the old constitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet so many accounts in ancient story, and with those at present in most parts of Europe. I have considered our religion, established here by the legislature soon after the reformation. I have likewise examined the genius and disposition of the people under that reasonable freedom they possess. Then I have turned my reflections

lections upon those two great divisions of *Whig* and *Tory* (which some way or other take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which side her present Majesty may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government, and to which she ought in prudence to trust the administration of her affairs. If these two rivals were really no more than *parties*, according to the common acceptation of the word, I should agree with those politicians who think a prince descends from his dignity by putting himself at the head of either; and that his wisest course is to keep them in a balance, raising or depressing either as it best suits with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side; and when the other is but a *faction*, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things; he ought in prudence to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case; for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the *Whigs* to make up, strictly speaking, a *national party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent parts, whom nothing served to unite, but the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people; their present dread of their adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and state, which however if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as *their predecessors* did after they destroyed

stroyed the monarchy and religion. For how could a *Whig*, who is against all discipline, agree with a *Presbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *Papists* themselves? How could a *Socinian* adjust his models to either? or how could any of these cement with a *Deist*, or *Freethinker*, when they came to consult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their systems of government; where some would have been for a king under the limitations of a Duke of Venice; others for a Dutch republic! a third party for an aristocracy; and most of all for some new fabric of their own contriving.

But however, let us consider them as a *party*, and under those general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* those principles of the *Tories* which their adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to those professions: After which let the reader judge, from which of these two parties a prince hath most to fear; and whether her Majesty did not consider the ease, the safety, and dignity of her person, the security of her crown, and the transmission of monarchy to her Protestant successors, when she put her affairs into the present hands.

Suppose the matter were not entire; the Queen to make her choice; and for that end, should order the principles on both sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive, the *Whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for *crowned heads*; that they allow the person of the prince may, upon many occasions, be resisted by arms; and that they do not condemn the war raised against K. Charles I. or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the *prerogative* to be yet sufficiently

sufficiently limited; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of Hanover) to clip it still closer against the next reign: which consequently they would be glad to see done in the present; not to mention that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to *religion*; their universal undisputed maxim is, that it ought to make no distinction at all among *Protestants*; and in the word *Protestant* they include every body who is not a *Papist*, and who will by an oath give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a church and a hierarchy; they laugh at as foppery, cant, and *priestcraft*. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith; and what we usually call by that name, they only style the *religion of the magistrate**. Since the dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points or modes of dress incapacitate them from serving their prince and country in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy? and why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on purpose in the same light, which themselves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of; and how inviting even these doctrines are for such a monarch to close with, as our law, both statute and common, understands a

* See *Letter on the Test*, vol. 3,

King of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions, which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice hath given a sanction to; they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that respect they ought to bear; and at the same time, their own want of duty to their sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves from their fellow-subjects; it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion as he affronts his superiors: as both prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late ministry.

Then from their confessed notions of religion as above related. I see no reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all sorts of dissenters, but the several *gradations* of *freethinkers* among us (all which are openly inrolled in their party); nor why they were so very averse from the present established form of worship, which, by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of conscience, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring on all occasions the *moneyed* interest before the *landed*; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and at the rate they went on, might, in a little time, have found a majority of representatives fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation.

nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are some motives which might compel a prince under the necessity of affairs to deliver himself over to that party. They were said to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently of credit in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies who have the great direction of both: So that all applications for loans to the public service, upon any emergency, must be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because in that case it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink *credit*, although with some present imaginary loss to themselves, only to shew it was a *creature* of their own.

From this summary of *Whig principles* and dispositions we find, what a prince may reasonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly consider the doctrines of the *Tories*, which their adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a sovereign ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reason, because without a due share of power he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both statute and common, neither the person nor lawful authority of the prince ought, upon any pretence whatsoever, to be resisted or disobeyed. Their sentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the reverse to what

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I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the *Whigs* upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteristic of the *Tories*, which hath much discouraged some princes from making use of them in affairs. Give the *Whigs* but power enough to insult their sovereign, ingross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow-subjects; they presently grow into good humour and good language towards the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the *Tories* it must be confessed, that nothing of all this hath been ever observed in them; in or out of favour, you see no alteration, farther than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances: The highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the same.

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principle of *Whig and Tory*; let the reader determine as he pleaseth, to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the public, trust his person and his affairs; and whether it were rashness or prudence in her Majesty to make those changes in the ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.



No. 36. Thursday, April 12. 1711.

*Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talla texta,
Una dies dedit exitio*—————

I Write this paper for the sake of the *Dissenters*, whom I take to be the most spreading branch of the *Whig party*, that *professeth Christianity*; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular system of it; the bulk of those we call the *Low-church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point; and the other subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or New Testament into their scheme. By the *Dissenters*, therefore, it will easily be understood that I mean the *Presbyterians*, as they include the sects of *Anabaptists*, *Independent*, and others, which have been melted down into them since the *restoration*. This sect, in order to make itself national, having gone so far as to raise a rebellion, murder their King, destroy monarchy and the church, was afterwards broken in pieces by its own divisions; which made way for the King's return from his exile. However, the zealous among them did still entertain hopes of recovering the *dominion of grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable passage in a book published about the year 1661, and written by one of their own side. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend asked him, *whether he thought the cause would revive?* He answered, *the cause is in the bosom of Christ; and as sure as Christ rose from the dead, so sure will the cause revive also.* And therefore

fore the *Nonconformists* were strictly watched, and restrained by penal laws, during the reign of King Charles II. the court and kingdom looking on them as a *faction* ready to join in any design against the government in church or state. And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The *Nonconformists* were then exactly upon the same foot with our *Nonjurors* now, whom we double tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting spirit; because we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, should altogether silence the *Dissenters* complaints of persecution under K. Charles II. or make them shew us wherein they differed at that time, from what our *Jacobites* are now.

Their inclinations to the church were soon discovered, when King James II. succeeded to the crown, with whom they unanimously joined in its ruin to revenge themselves for that restraint they had most justly suffered in the foregoing reign, not from the persecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would suggest, but the prudence and caution of the legislature. The same indulgence against law was made use of by them and the *Papists*; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common interest.

But the revolution happening soon after, served to wash away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run against *Popery* was no doubt as just and seasonable, as that of *Fanaticism* after the restoration; and the dread of *Popery* being then our latest danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our spirits, all mouths were open against that; the *Dissenters* were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and King's murder were now

no longer a reproach ; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durst call it a *rebellion* was a *Jacobite* and a *friend* to France. This was the more unexpected, because the revolution being wholly brought about by church-of-England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be the relieving us from the incroachments of *Dissenters*, as well as those of *Papists*; since both had equally confederated towards our ruin : and therefore when the crown was new settled, it was hoped at least, that the rest of the constitution would be restored. But this affair took a very different turn : the *Dissenters* had just made a shift to save a tide, and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their *protector* K. James ; and observing a party then forming against the old principles in church and state, under the name of *Whigs* and *Low-churchmen*, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued.

It is therefore upon the foot they now are that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different circumstances at present from what they were under, when they began their designs against the church and monarchy about seventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party ; and whosoever joined with them from principles of revenge, discontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to shelter under their denomination ; united heartily in the pretences of a further and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the *great work* (as the *cant* was then) *that God was about to do in these nations* ; received the systems of doctrine and discipline prescribed by the Scots, and readily took the *covenant* ; so that there appeared no division among them, till after the common enemy was subdued.

But now their case is quite otherwise ; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *party*, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For
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suppose the whole *faction* should at length succeed in their design of destroying the church; are they so weak to imagine, that the new-modelling of religion would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the *Low-churchmen* and *Freethinkers*, submit to their *discipline*, their *synods*, or their *classes*; and divide the lands of bishops, or deans and chapters among them? How can they help observing, that their allies, instead of pretending more sanctity than other men, are some of them for levelling all religion; and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the same manner as they were by K. James II. made instruments to ruin the church; not for their own sakes, but under a pretended project of universal freedom in opinion to advance the dark designs of those who employ them? For excepting the *antimonarchical principle*, and a few false notions about *liberty*, I see but little agreement betwixt them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a frame of government that would please them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be sure, the *Presbyterian* institution would never obtain. For suppose they should, in imitation of their predecessors, propose to have no King but our Saviour Christ; the whole clan of *Freethinkers* would immediately object and refuse his authority. Neither would their *Low-church* brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that upon the whole I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the *Dissenters* can find better quarter than from the church of England.

Besides, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with all their zeal against the church, they ought not to shew a little decency; and how far it consists with their reputation to act in concert with

such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present Most Christian King * to assist the Turk against the Emperor: policy and reasons of state were not allowed sufficient excuses for taking part with an *Infidel* against a *Believer*. It is one of the *Dissenters* quarrels against the church, that she is not enough reformed from *Popery*: yet they boldly entered into a league with *Papists* and a *Popish prince* to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and object against the wicked lives of some of our members: yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with *Libertines* and *Atheists* to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews should multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the *Dissenters* join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the Jews are allowed to be a *stiff-necked and rebellious people*?

It is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exerting them to purpose; the arts of getting power, and preserving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the *Dissenters* seem to be at an end; their comrades, the *Whigs* and *Freethinkers*, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the *Whigs* in general seems at present to be: the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumstances and new men must arise, as well as new occasions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that

* Louis XIV. King of France.

the *Dissenters* have no game left at present, but to secure their *indulgence*: in order to which, I will be so bold to offer them some advice.

First, That until some proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, so great a majority as there is now against them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better opportunity. I have shewn they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly lose none by its fall, unless through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the Queen; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined interest of those who have used her so ill; and by a due respect to the persons she is pleased to trust at present with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them; what is left, but to be silent and passive?

Secondly, Although there be no law (besides that of God almighty) against *occasional conformity*, it would be prudence in the *Dissenters* to use it as tenderly as they can: for besides the infamous hypocrisy of the thing itself, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an employment hath more power than the love of unity.

In the *last place*, I am humbly of opinion, that the *Dissenters* would do well to drop that *lesson* they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehensions, that the *Tories* are in the interest of the *pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the first opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst grace in the world that they

they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if those who *alone* stood in the gap against all the incroachments of *Papery* and *arbitrary power*, are not more likely to keep out both than a set of *schismatics*, who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince to fall upon such measures as must at last have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wish those who give themselves the trouble to write to the *Examiner*, would consider whether that they send be proper for such a paper to take notice of. I had one letter last week, written, as I suppose, by a divine, to desire I would offer some reasons against a bill now before the parliament for *ascertaining the tithe of haps*; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, especially the poorer *vicars*. If it be as he says, (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it), the *convocation* now sitting, will, no doubt, upon due application, represent the matter to the house of Commons; and he may expect all justice and favour from that *great body*, who have already appeared so tender of their *rights*.

A gentleman likewise, who hath sent me several letters relating to personal hardships he received from some of the late ministry, is advised to publish a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.



No 37. Thursday, April 19. 1711.

Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa.

I AM glad to observe, that several among the *Whigs* have begun very much to change their language of late. The style is now among the reasonable part of them, when they meet a man in business, or a member of parliament; *Well, Gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any pretence to complain.* They find, it seems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the *pretender*, nor any preparatory steps towards it. They read no inflaming votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the subject. The indulgence to scrupulous consciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least whisper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to support the war; supplies cheerfully granted, and funds readily subscribed to, in spite of the little arts made use of to discredit them. The just resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and which at another juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been softened or diverted by the calmness of others. So that, upon the article of present management, I do not see how any objection of weight can well be raised.

However, our adversaries still alledge, that this great success was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view: that in public affairs we ought least of all others to judge by events: that the attempt
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of changing a ministry, during the difficulties of a long war, was rash and inconsiderate: that if the Queen were disposed, by her inclinations, or from any personal dislike, for such a change, it might have been done with more safety in a time of peace; that if it had miscarried by any of those incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the consequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy: and therefore, however it hath now succeeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try.

But this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit rashness or chance to have produced all this harmony and order. It is visible to the world, that the several steps towards this change were slowly taken, and with the utmost caution. The *movers* observed as they went on, how matters would bear; and advanced no farther at first, than so as they might be able to stop or go back, if circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a height, that it was no longer the question, whether a person who aimed at an employment, were a *Whig* or *Tory*; much less whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to: he must owe his preferment only to the favourites; and the crown was so far from *nominating*, that they would not allow it a *negative*. This the Queen was resolved no longer to endure; and began to break into their *prescription*, by bestowing one or two places of consequence without consulting her *ephori*, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded as usual, that all their business was to signify their pleasure to her Majesty. But although the persons the Queen had chosen were such as no objection could well be raised against upon the score of party, yet the *oligarchy* took the alarm; their sovereign authority was, it seems, called in question; they grew into anger and discontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated.

ted. All former obligations to their sovereign now became cancelled; and they put themselves upon the foot of people, who are hardly used after the most eminent services.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a prince thus treated by those he hath most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; because from the monstrous incroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition he cannot tell how long it may continue to be so. And it will be found upon inquiring into history, that most of those princes who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to struggle, until they were quite sunk.

The *Whigs* are every day cursing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and insatiable covetousness of a *certain person*, as the cause of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that *one single removal* might have set all things right. But the interests of that *single person* were found upon experience so complicated and woven with the rest by *love*, by *awe*, by *marriage*, by *alliance*, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than dissolve such an union.

I have always heard and understood, that a king of England possessed of his people's hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that such a monarch ought to do; and pursued the real interest of himself and his kingdom. Will they allow her Majesty to be in those circumstances at present? And was it not plain by the addresses sent from all parts of the island, and by the visible disposition of the people, that such a parliament would undoubtedly be chosen? And so
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it proved without ~~the~~ court's using any arts to influence elections.

What people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution must truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few *retailers* of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise institution would ever allow? Must our laws from henceforward pass the Bank and East-India company, or have their *royal assent* before they are in force?

To hear some of these worthy reasoners talking of *Credit*, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a lady troubled with vapours, or the colic, to be removed only by a *course of steel*, or *swallowing a bullet*. By the narrowness of their thoughts one would imagine, they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange-alley. It is probable *they* may have such a sickly dame among them; and it is well if she hath no worse diseases, considering what hands she passes through. But the *National Credit* is of another complexion; of sound health, and an even temper; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: and we find these *money-politicians*, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion by the court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a *lottery*.

As to that mighty error in politics they charge upon the Queen, for changing her ministry in the height of a war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an error under a *Whiggish administration*; otherwise the late King had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry of *famous memory* was brought in during the present war; only with this circumstance,

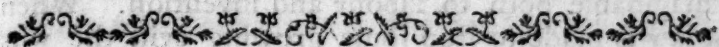
stance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions.

But however, I see no reason why the *Tories* should not value their wisdom by events, as well as the *Whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash counsel than that of *altering the coin* at the juncture it was done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was sufficiently justified by the success. Perhaps it will be said, that the attempt was necessary, because the whole species of money was so grievously clipped and counterfeit: and is not her Majesty's authority as sacred as her coin? and hath not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous complaint of the *Whigs*, that their late friends, and the whole party are treated with abundance of severity in print, and in particular by the Examiner. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of re-establishing themselves, their infirmities should be so often displayed in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to set forth in their papers of the week; and it is humourous enough to observe one page taken up in railing at the Examiner, for his invectives against a discarded ministry, and the other side filled with the falsest and vilest abuses against those who are now in the highest power and credit with their sovereign, and whose least breath would scatter them into silence and obscurity. However, although I have indeed often wondered to see so much licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other country of Christendom; yet I never once invoked the assistance of the *goal* or *pillory*, which, upon the least provocation, was the usual style during their tyranny. There hath not passed a week these twen-

ty years without some malicious paper scattered in every coffeehouse by the emissaries of that party, whether it were *down* or *up*. I believe they will not pretend to object the same thing to us : nor do I remember any constant weekly paper with reflections on the late ministry or *junta*. They have many weak defenceless parts ; they have not been used to a regular attack, and therefore it is that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn. So that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their lies and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear observing upon this occasion, that those worthy authors I am speaking of, seem to me not fairly to represent the sentiments of their party ; who in disputing with us do generally give up several of the late ministry, and freely own many of their failings. They confess the monstrous *debt upon the navy* to have been caused by most scandalous mismanagement ; they allow the *insolence* of *some*, and the *avarice* of *others*, to have been insupportable : but these gentlemen are most liberal of their praises to those persons, and upon those very articles, where their wisest friends give up the point. They gravely tell us, that *such a one* was the most faithful servant that ever any prince had ; *another*, the most dutiful ; a *third*, the most generous ; a *fourth*, of the greatest integrity : so that I look upon these champions rather as retained by a *cabal* than a *party* ; which I desire the reasonable men among them would please to consider.



No 38. Thursday, April 26, 1711.

*Indignum est in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur,
discedi a legibus.*

I Have been often considering how it comes to pass, that the dexterity of mankind in evil should always out-grow not only the prudence and caution of private persons, but the continual expedients of the wisest laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to possess a greater share of natural wit or genius, than an honest man. I have known very notable sharpers at play, who, upon all occasions, were as great dunces as human shape can well allow; and I believe the same might be observed among the other knots of thieves and pickpockets about this town. The proposition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred instances. A scrivener, an attorney, a stockjobber, and many other *retailers of fraud*, shall not only be able to over-reach others much wiser than themselves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made against them. I suppose the reason of this may be, that as the aggressor is said to have generally the advantage of the *defender*, so the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have usually not so much industry, or vigour, as those whose interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the public for their justice and virtue; neither do those who act upon such principles, expect any recompense until the next world: whereas fraud, where it succeeds, gives

present pay; and this is allowed the greatest spur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to stop some growing evil, the wits of those whose interest it is to break it with secrecy or impunity, are immediately at work; and even among those who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the advantage if possible without the shame, or at least without the danger. This art is what I take that dextrous race of men, sprung up soon after the revolution, to have studied with greater application ever since, and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of some Romish casuists, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will just forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your pocket besides: how much to a penny you may safely cheat the Queen, whether forty, fifty, or sixty *per cent.* according to the station you are in, and the dispositions of the persons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may securely take or give for a place, or what part of the salary you ought to reserve. They can discreetly distribute five hundred pounds in a small borough, without any danger from the statutes against bribing elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; so that you shall not know whom to accuse. They can win a thousand guineas at play in spite of the dice, and send away the loser satisfied. They can pass the most exorbitant accounts, overpay the creditor with half his demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather indeed impossible to discover the several arts which curi-

ous men have found out to enrich themselves by defrauding the public in defiance of the law. The military men, both by sea and land, have equally cultivated this most useful science: neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an instance that would make ours blush to be so far outdone.

Besides, to confess the truth, our laws themselves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our best possession, liberty. Some years ago the ambassador of a great prince * was arrested, and outrages committed on his person in our streets, without any possibility of redress from Westminster-hall, or the prerogative of the sovereign; and the legislature was forced to provide a remedy against the like evils in time to come. A commissioner of the stamped paper was lately discovered to have notoriously cheated the public of great sums for many years, by counterfeiting the stamps, which the law hath made capital: but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cause that saved his life; and that additional heightening circumstance of betraying his trust was found to be a legal defence. I am assured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portsmouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be punished in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almost incredible, had Guiscard † survived his detestable attempt upon Mr. Harley's person, all the inflaming circumstances of the fact would not have sufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have punished him with death; and the public must have lain under this *dilemma*, either to condemn him by a law *ex post facto*, (which would

* Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy.

† He died of the wounds he received.

have been of dangerous consequence, and from an ignominious precedent), or undergo the mortification to see the greatest villain upon earth escape unpunished, to the infinite triumph and delight of *Popery* and *faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the insolences offered to the Queen since the act of indemnity, (at least that ever came to my ears), I can hardly instance above two or three, which by the letter of the law could amount to high treason.

From these defects in our laws, and the want of some discretionary power, safely lodged, to exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of those laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the public are so seldom redressed. But besides, no individual suffers by any wrong he doth to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight millions, who contribute to the loss, while the whole gain is sunk among a few. The damage suffered by the public is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular persons; and the zeal of prosecutions is apt to drop and be lost among numbers.

But imagine a set of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game visibly their own, and, by consequence, acting with great security; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their caution by length of time, by excess of avarice and ambition, by the insolence or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt of their adversaries? May not such motives as these put them often upon actions directly against the law, such as no evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing interest, whenever they are out of power? It is answered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late ministry their due praises; who,
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foreseeing a storm, provided for their own safety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have escaped the punishments due to pernicious counsels, and corrupt management. The first was to procure, under pretences hardly specious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The second was yet more refined: suppose, for instance, a counsel is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous designs of a prevailing party, to preserve them in power, to gratify the unmeasurable appetites of a few *leaders* civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation; this counsel, desperate in itself, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an address, which makes it look like the sense of the nation. Under that shelter they carry on the work, and lie secure against after-reckonings.

I must be so free to tell my meaning in this; that among other things, I understand it of the address made to the Queen about three years ago, to desire that her Majesty would not consent to a peace, without the entire restitution of Spain. A proceeding which, to people abroad, must look like the highest strain of temerity, folly, and gasconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can easily comprehend the depth and mystery of it. They were assured by this means to pin down the war upon us; consequently to increase their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties upon the Queen and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves disposed to reverse their address, and give us leave to wish for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monstrous step in politics, I would ask him, what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover Spain? Those among the Whigs who believe

lieve a God, will confess that the events of war lie in his hands ; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such power, will allow, that fortune hath too great a share in the good or ill success of military actions to let a wise man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence shall think fit to refuse success to our arms ; with how ill a grace, with what shame and confusion shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate address, unless the world will be so charitable to consider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes ; and that, by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumstances, it is very possible for our island to be represented sometimes by those who have the least pretensions. So little truth or justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the actions of former senates ought always to be treated with respect by the latter ; that those assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another : by which argument the parliament that began the rebellion against King Charles I. voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with respect.

But to return from this digression : It is very plain, that considering the defectiveness of our laws, the variety of cases, the weakness of the prerogative, the power, or the cunning of ill-designing men, it is possible that many great abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished ; especially if we add to this, that some inquiries might probably involve those, whom, upon other accounts, it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore it is very false reasoning, especially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, because the law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to supply such defects as these, that satire was first introduced into the world ;
whereby

whereby those, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of punishment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the shame of having their crimes exposed to open view in the strongest colours, and themselves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but next to taming or binding a savage animal, the best service you can do the neighbourhood is to give them warning either to arm themselves or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any signs of remorse from the leaders of that faction, I should very gladly have changed my style, and forgot, or passed by, their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of discovering their impotent zeal and malice: witness their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, besides that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things desperate, that themselves may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve; that is to say, as the inveterate, irreconcilable enemies to our country and its constitution.



N^o 39. Thursday, May 3. 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

There have been certain topics of reproach liberally bestowed for some years past, by the Whigs and Tories upon each other. We charge the
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the former with a design of destroying the *established church*, and introducing *Fanaticism* and *Freethinking* in its stead. We accuse them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the present form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or some new scheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other side, their clamours against us may be summed up in those three formidable words, *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*. Our accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; such as their perpetually abusing the whole body of the clergy, their declared contempt for the very order of priesthood, their aversion against Episcopacy the public encouragement and patronage they gave to Tindal, Toland, and other Atheistical writers; their appearing as professed advocates retained by the dissenters, excusing their separation, and laying the guilt of it to the obstinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the test, and their setting up the indulgence to scrupulous consciences as a point of greater importance than the established worship. The regard they bear to our *monarchy* hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *martyrdom* of K. Charles I. in their Calves-head clubs, their common discourses, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war raised against that prince, to have been a rebellion; their justifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their industry in publishing and spreading seditious and republican tracts, such as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney of Government, and many others; their endless lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her Majesty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear: however, those important words having, by dexterous management, been found of mighty service

vice to the cause, although applied with little colour, either of reason or justice : I have been considering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to *Popery*, which is the first of these ; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any set of men among us, except the professors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here ; but the question is, Whether the principles and practices of us or the Whigs, be most likely to make way for it ? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the bosom of the Catholic church, one of the chief was to send Jesuits, and other emissaries, in lay habits ; who personating *tradesmen* and *mechanics*, should mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a further and purer *reformation*, endeavour to divide us into as many sects as possible ; which would either put us under the necessity of returning to our old errors to preserve peace at home ; or by our *divisions* make way for some powerful neighbour, with the assistance of the pope's permission and a consecrated banner, to *convert* and *enslave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good politics, (and it was the best the *Jesuit schools* could invent), I appeal to any man, whether the Whigs, for many years past, have not been employed in the very same work ? They professed on all occasions, that they knew no reason why any one system of *speculative opinions* (as they term the doctrines of the church) should be established by law, more than another ; or why employments should be confined to the religion of the magistrate, and that called the *church established*. The grand maxim they laid down was, That no man, for the sake of a few notions and ceremonies, under the names of *doctrine* and *discipline*, should be denied the liberty of serving his country : as if places would go a-begging, unless

unless *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Sweet singers*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, and *Muggletonians* would take them off our hands.

I have been sometimes imagining this scheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to see half a dozen *Sweet singers* on the bench in their ermines, and two or three *Quakers* with their white staves at court. I can only say, this project is the very counter-part of the late King James's design, which he took up as the best method for introducing his *own religion* under the pretext of an *universal liberty of conscience*, and that no difference in religion should make any in his favour. Accordingly, to save appearances, he dealt some employments among *Dissenters* of most denominations; and what he did was no doubt in pursuance of the best advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the most dangerous step he could take for her destruction. It is true King James admitted *Papists* among the rest, which the *Whigs* would not: but this is sufficiently made up by a material circumstance, wherein they seem to have much outdone that prince, and to have carried their *liberty of conscience* to a higher point, having granted it to all the classes of *Freethinkers*, (which the nice conscience of a *Papish prince* would not give him leave to do), and were therein mightily overseen; because it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow step from *Atheism* to the other extreme, *superstition*. So that, upon the whole, whether the *Whigs* had any real design of bringing in *Popery* or no, it is very plain that they took the most effectual step towards it; and if the *Jesuits* had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter scholars.

Their second accusation is, that we encourage and maintain *arbitrary power* in princes, and promote

mote *enslaving doctrines* among the people. This they go about to prove by instances, producing the particular opinions of certain divines in K. Charles II.'s reign, a decree of Oxford university, and some few writers since the *revolution*. What they mean is the principle of *passive-obedience* and *non-resistance*, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include *arbitrary power*. However, altho' I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a dispute to make any concessions without the last necessity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, some writers did carry that tenet of *passive obedience* to a height, which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the consent of the whole people; I mean not those who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the prince's person. This last hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the *Whigs* quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of *passive obedience*, it will at least appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occasion pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houses, and the present ministry (if those be a party) seem to me in all their proceedings to pursue the real interest of church and state; and if I should happen to differ from particular persons among them in a single notion about government, I suppose they will not upon that account explode me and my paper. However, as an answer once for all to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write; I must here inform them, that their *censure* is an effect of their *principles*. The present ministry are under no necessity of em-

ploying prostitute pens ; they have no dark designs to promote by advancing *heterodox opinions*.

But, to return, suppose two or three private divines under K. Charles II. did a little overstrain the doctrine of *passive obedience* to princes ; some allowance might be given to the memory of that *unnatural rebellion* against his father, and the dismal consequences of *resistance*. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce *arbitrary power*.

I look upon the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* to be exactly of the same political faith ; let us therefore see, what share each of them had in advancing *arbitrary power*. It is manifest, that the *Fanatics* made Cromwell the most absolute tyrant in Christendom. The *rump* abolished the *house of Lords*, the *army* abolished the *rump*, and by this army of *saints* he governed. The *Dissenters* took liberty of conscience and employments from the late King James, as an acknowledgment of his *dispensing power* ; which makes a King of England as absolute as the Turk. The *Whigs* under the late King perpetually declared for keeping up a standing army in times of peace ; which hath in all ages been the first and great step to the ruin of liberty. They were besides discovering every day their inclinations to destroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies against the bishops sitting in the *house of Peers*, which was exactly copying after their predecessors of *forty-one*. I need not say, their real intentions were to make the King absolute ; but whatever be the designs of innovating men, they usually end in a tyranny ; as we may see by an hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy, mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the *Whigs* accuse us of a design to bring in the *pretender* ; and to give it a great-

er air of probability, they suppose the Queen to be a party in this design; which however is no very extraordinary supposition in those who have advanced such singular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiscard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an instance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that, if ever he be brought in, the Whigs are his men. For, first, it is an undoubted truth, that, a year or two after the *revolution*, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by the late King James; and had entered upon measures to restore him on account of some disobligations they received from K. William. Besides, I would ask, whether those who are under the greatest ties of gratitude to K. James, are not at this day become the most zealous Whigs? and of what party those are now, who kept a long correspondence with St. Germain's?

It is likewise very observable of late, that the Whigs, upon all occasions, profess their belief of the pretender's being no *impostor*, but a real *prince*, born of the late Queen's body; which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the weight such an opinion must have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the pretender himself puts his chief hopes in the friendship he expects from the *Dissenters* and *Whigs*, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were most in credit; and he had reason to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further, what could be more consistent with the *Whiggish* notion of a *revolution-principle*, than to bring in the pretender? A *revolution-principle*, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to *revolutions*: and this is suitable to the fa-

mous saying of a great *Whig*, *that the more revolutions the better*: which how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *revolutions*, he lies down to *rest*: but heads under the dominion of the *moon* are for perpetual *changes*, and perpetual *revolutions*: besides, the *Whigs* owe all their wealth to *wars* and *revolutions*; like the girl at Bartholomew fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.

To conclude, the *Whigs* have a natural faculty of bringing in *pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many *pretenders*, to wit, honour, nobility, politics have they brought in these last twenty years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of *pretenders* in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a *pretender* at their head.



No 40. Thursday, May 10. 1711.

Dos est magna parentium virtus.

I Took up a paper * some days ago in a coffee house; and if the correctness of the style, and a superior spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this paper there were several important propositions advanced. For instance, That "Providence raised up Mr. Harley to be an instrument of great good, in a very criti-

* The Speaker's congratulation of Mr. Harley, in the name of the house, on his escape and recovery. See the next number.

“cal juncture, when it was much wanted. *That*
 “*his* very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities,
 “and distinguishing merit, by their unwearied
 “and restless endeavours against his person and
 “reputation; *that* they have had an inveterate
 “malice against both? *that* he hath been wonderfully
 “preserved from some unparalleled attempts,” with more to the same purpose. I immediately computed, by rules of arithmetic, that, in the last cited words; there was something more intended than the attempt of Guiscard, which, I think, can properly pass but for *one* of the *SOME*. And, although I dare not pretend to guess the author’s meaning; yet the expression allows such a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, most readers, both *Whig* and *Tory*, have agreed with me, that this plural number must, in all probability, among other facts, take in the business of Greg.

See now the difference of styles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occasion; instead of saying how Mr. Harley was *treated by some persons*, and *preserved from some unparalled attempts*, I should, with intolerable bluntness and ill manners, have told a formal story of a committee sent to a condemned criminal in Newgate to bribe him with a pardon, on condition he would swear high treason against his master, who discovered his correspondence and secured his person; when a certain grave *politician* had given him warning to make his escape; and by this means I should have drawn a whole swarm of hedge-writers to exhaust their catalogue of scurrilities against me, as a liar, and a slanderer. But, with submission to the author of that forementioned paper; I think he hath carried that expression to the utmost it will bear; for, after all this noise, I know of but two attempts against Mr. Harley, that can really be called *unparalleled*, which are those aforesaid of Greg and

Guiscard; for, as the rest, I will engage to *parallel* them from the story of Cataline, and others I could produce.

However, I cannot but observe, with infinite pleasure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with so many decent epithets, hath been sufficiently confirmed at several times by the resolutions of one or the other house of parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good authority, that *there hath been some unparalleled attempts against Mr. Harley*: That the late ministry were justly to blame in some managements, which occasioned the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the disappointment at Toulon: That the public hath been grievously wronged by most notorious frauds during the *Whig administration*; that those who advised the bringing in the Palatines, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly passed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be trusted in such employments any more. Perhaps, in a little time, I may venture to affirm some other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a period, instead of one Examiner, the late ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds:

Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the sons of Æolus had almost sunk the ship with the tempests they raised, it was necessary to smooth the ocean, and secure the vessel, instead of pursuing the offenders.

But I observe the general expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures
who

who is to be punished for past miscarriages, seems bent upon the rewards intended to those who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our constitution from its late danger. It is the observation of Tacitus in the life of Agricola, that his eminent services had raised a general opinion of his being designed by the Emperor for prætor of Britain: *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non semper erat Fama, aliquando et eligit*. The judgment of a wise prince, and the general disposition of the people, do often point at the same person; and sometimes the popular wishes do even foretell the reward intended for some superior merit. Thus, among several deserving persons, there are *two* whom the public vogue hath in a peculiar manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive the choicest marks of the royal favour; *one* of them to be placed in a very high station, and *both* to increase the number of our nobility*. This I say, is the general conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; since it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greatest rewards.

Upon this occasion I cannot but take notice, that of all the heresies in politics profusely scattered by the partisans of the *late administration*, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous consequences to *monarchy*, than that pernicious talent so much affected of discovering a contempt for *birth, family, and ancient nobility*. All the thread-bare topics of *poets* and *orators* were displayed to discover to us, that *merit* and *virtue* were the only *nobility*; and that the advantages of *blood* could not make a *knave* or a *fool* either honest or wise. Most popular commotions we read of in the histories of Greece and Rome took their rise

* Harley and St. John,

from unjust quarrels to the *nobles*; and in the latter, the *plebeians* incroachments on the *patricians* were the first cause of their ruin.

Suppose there be nothing but *opinion* in the difference of blood; every body knows, that *authority* is very much founded on *opinion*. But surely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of chusing the best companions to converse with, not being under the necessity of practising little mean tricks by a scanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of ancestors inciting to great and good actions; these are usually some of the opportunities that fall in the way of those who are born of what we call the better families: And allowing *genius* to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their side. Nay, we may observe in some, who, by the appearance of merit or favour of fortune, have risen to great stations from an obscure birth, that they have still retained some sordid vices of their *parentage* or *education*, either *insatiable avarice*, or *ignominious falsehood* and *corruption*.

To say the truth, the great neglect of education in several noble families, whose sons are suffered to pass the most improveable seasons of their youth in vice and idleness, have too much lessened their reputation: but even this misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that *Whiggish* practice of reviling the *universities* under the pretence of their instilling *pedantry*, *narrow principles*, and *high-church doctrines*.

I would not be thought to undervalue *merit* and *virtue*, wherever they are to be found: but will allow them capable of the highest dignities in a state, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill; but however, that is not the most probable place to search for it. Nay, I will

go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without *merit* is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a more public view, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other side, I doubt those who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which nobody will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot without impudence and folly pretend to be nobly born; because this is a secret too easily discovered: for no mens parentage is so nicely inquired into as that of assuming upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themselves with insolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for *blood* and *families* reacheth even to those that are *royal*, or perhaps took its rise from a *Whiggish* contempt of the latter: I am pleased to find *two* such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, hath been held in veneration by all wise polite states both ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty solicitude to convince the world, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by some strained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himself was pleased with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a branch of the royal stem. I know a *citizen* who adds or alters a letter in his name with every *plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel

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el * to be allied to a sovereign prince in Italy †; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a mistake of the graver upon his *tomb-stone*.

When I am upon this subject of *nobility*, I am sorry for the occasion given me to mention the loss of a *person* who was so great an ornament to it, as the late Lord President ‡; who began early to distinguish himself in the *public service*, and passed through the highest employments of state in the most difficult times, with great *abilities* and untainted *honour*. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from *late infusions*, but were instilled into him by his illustrious father, and other noble spirits, who had exposed their lives and fortunes for the royal martyr.

— — — *Pulcherrima proles,*
Magnanimi herbes nati melioribus annis.

His first great action was, like Scipio, to defend his father when oppressed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a son, who, upon the like occasion, would have shewn the same resolution. No man ever preserved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor shewed more affability when he was in. To conclude his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such as his nearest friends may safely trust to the most impartial pen; nor wants the least of that allowance which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

* Sir H. Furness.

† Farnese.

‡ Earl of Rochester.



No 41. Thursday, May 17. 1711.

— *Quem cur distringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus?*

I Never let slip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the present ministry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I first undertook this paper, I firmly resolved, that if ever I observed any gross neglect, abuse, or corruption in the public management, which might give any just offence to reasonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldness which becometh an honest man, and a true lover of his country; at the same time preserving the respect due to persons so highly intrusted by so wise and excellent a Queen. I know not how such a liberty might have been resented; but I thank God there hath been no occasion given me to exercise it; for I can safely affirm, that I have with the utmost rigour examined all the actions of the present ministry, as far as they fall under general cognisance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken step. Observing indeed some time ago, that seeds of dissension had been plentifully scattered from a *certain corner*, and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a paper on the subject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required; but the prudence of those at the helm soon prevented this growing evil, and

and at present it seems likely to have no consequences.

I have had indeed for some time a small occasion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal subject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can possibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiousness of several weekly papers, which for some months past have been chiefly employed in barefaced scurrilities against those who are in the greatest trust and favour with the Queen, with the first and last letters of their names frequently printed, or some *periphrasis* describing their station, or other *innuendos* contrived too plain to be mistaken. The consequence of which is (and it is natural it should be so), that their long impunity hath rendered them still more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the *Medley*, whose indefatigable incessant railings against me I never thought convenient to take notice of, because it would have diverted my design, which I intended to be of public use. Besides, I never yet observed that writer, or those writers (for it is every way a *Medley*), to argue against any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the world grows weary of controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at least have been joined at times in that worthy composition; but the outlines, as well as the finishing, seem to have been always the work of the same pen, as it is visible from half a score beauties of style inseparable from it. But who these *medlers* are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture: factious rancour, false wit, abandoned scurrility, impudent

impudent falsehood, and servile pedantry, having so many fathers, and so few to own them, that Curiosity herself would not be at the pains to guess. It is the first time I ever did myself the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occasion likely to happen, that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an adversary. This paper is weekly published, and as appears by the number, hath been so for several months; and is next to the *Observer* allowed to be the best production of the party. Last week my printer brought me that of May 7. No 32. where there are two paragraphs relating to the Speaker of the house of Commons, and to Mr. Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an antagonist, I cannot let pass without failing in my duty to the public: and if those in power will suffer such infamous insinuations to pass with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

I desire to open this matter, and leave the *Whigs* themselves to determine upon it. The house of Commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the Speaker should congratulate Mr. Harley's escape and recovery in the name of the house, upon his first attendance on their service. This is accordingly done; and the speech, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, are printed by order of the house. The author of the *Medley* takes this speech to task the very next week after it is published; telling us in the aforesaid paper, that "the Speaker's commending Mr. Harley for being an instrument of great good to the nation, was ill-chosen flattery; because Mr. Harley had brought the nation under great difficulties, to say no more." He says, "that when the Speaker tells Mr. Harley, that Providence hath wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled attempts" (for that the *Medley* alludes to), "he only revives

“ a false and groundless calumny upon other men;
 “ which is an instance of impotent, but inveterate
 “ malice that makes him [the Speaker] still appear
 “ more vile and contemptible.” This is an extract
 from his first paragraph. In the next this writer
 says, “ that the Speaker’s praying to God for the
 “ continuance of Mr. Harley’s life, as an invaluable
 “ blessing, was a fulsome piece of insincerity,
 “ which exposes him to shame and derision ; be-
 “ cause he is known to bear ill-will to Mr. Harley,
 “ to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and to
 “ to think him an obstructor of those fine measures
 “ he would bring about.

I now appeal to the *Whigs* themselves, whether
 a great minister of state, in high favour with the
 Queen, and a speaker of the house of commons,
 were ever publicly treated after so extraordinary a
 manner in the most licentious times ? For this is
 not a clandestine libel stolen into the world, but o-
 penly printed and sold with the bookseller’s name
 and place of abode at the bottom. And the junc-
 ture is admirable, when Mr. Harley is generally be-
 lieved upon the very point to be made an earl, and
 promoted to the most important station of the
 kingdom ; nay, the very marks of esteem he hath
 so lately received from the whole representative
 body of the people, are called *ill-chosen flattery*, and
 a *fulsome piece of insincerity*, exposing the donors to
shame and derision.

Does this intrepid writer think he hath sufficient-
 ly disguised the matter by that stale artifice of al-
 tering the story, and putting it as a supposed case ?
 Did any man, who ever saw the congratulatory
 speech, read either of those paragraphs in the *Med-
 ley* without interpreting them just as I have done ?
 Will the author declare upon his great sincerity,
 that he never had any such meaning ? Is it enough,
 that a jury at Westminster-hall would perhaps not
 find him guilty of defaming the Speaker and Mr.
 Harley

Harley in that paper? Which, however, I am much in doubt of too; and must think the law very defective, if the reputation of such persons must lie at the mercy of such pens. I do not remember to have seen any libel, supposed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent prosecution, delivered under so thin a cover, or so unartificially made up as this, whether it were from an apprehension of his reader's dulness; or an effect of his own. He hath transcribed the very phrases of the Speaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might pass unobserved, and to prevent all possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have recourse to the old evasion, and say, That I who make the application am chargeable with the abuse: let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting as my opinion, that for a ministry to endure such open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deserving it. And this is an omission I venture to charge upon the present ministry, who are too apt to despise little things, which however have not always little consequences.

When this paper was first undertaken, one design among others was, to *examine* some of those writings so frequently published with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other inquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary; to animadvert upon mens actions, rather than their speculations; to shew the necessity there was of changing the ministry, that our constitution in church and state might be preserved; to expose some dangerous principles and practices under the former administration; and prove, by many instances, that those who are now at the helm, are entirely in the true interest of prince and people. This I may modestly hope hath, in some measure, been already done, sufficient to answer the end proposed; which was, to inform

the ignorant, and those at a distance, and to convince such as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conscience. I know not whether I shall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps some time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false reasonings of those who engage their pens on the other side, without losing time in vindicating myself against their scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of this sort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues* *, who every month publisheth an extract from votes, news-papers, speeches, and proclamations, larded with some insipid remarks of his own; which he calls, *The political state of Great Britain*. This ingenious piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch no doubt conceive most noble sentiments of us conveyed through such a vehicle. It is observable in his account for April, that the vanity so predominant in many of his nation hath made him more concerned for the honour of Guiscard, than the safety of Mr. Harley. And for fear we should think the worse of his country upon that *assassin's* account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villainies committed in England than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither master of our language, or indeed of common sense, and who is devoted to a faction, I suppose for no other reason, but his having more *Whig* customers than *Tories*, should take it into his head to write politic tracts of our affairs. But I presume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his insolence in one of his former monthly productions; which is a method that seldom fails of giving some vogue to the foolishlest composition. If such

* One Abel Boyer.

a work must be done, I wish some tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not suffer a little whiffling Frenchman to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and presume to instruct foreigners in our politics.

No 42. Thursday, May 24. 1711.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,

Romane, donec templa refeceris,

Ædesque labentes deorum. —

SEveral letters have been lately sent me, desiring I would make honourable mention of the pious design of building fifty churches in several parts of London and Westminster, where they are most wanted, occasioned by an address of the *convocation* to the Queen, and recommended by her Majesty to the house of Commons; who immediately promised they *would enable her to accomplish so excellent a design*, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this session; at which time I proposed to deliver a particular account of the great and useful things already performed by this present parliament. But in compliance to those who give themselves the trouble of advising me, and partly convinced by the reasons they offer, I am content to bestow a paper upon a subject that indeed so well deserveth it.

The clergy, and whoever else have a true concern for the constitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleased with one prospect in this new scene of public affairs. They may very well remem-

ber the time, when every session of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to pass without bursting into some storm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy escape until the next meeting; upon which we resumed our secret apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered, the parliament takes the necessities of the church into consideration, receives the proposals of the clergy met in convocation, and amidst all the exigencies of *a long expensive war* and *under the pressure of heavy debts*, finds a supply for erecting fifty edifices for the service of God. And it appears by the address of the Commons to her Majesty upon this occasion, (wherein they discovered a true spirit of religion), that applying the money granted to *accomplish so excellent a design*, would, in their opinion, be the most effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to use their own words) “ be a means of drawing down blessings on her Majesty’s undertakings, as it adds to “ the number of those places, where the prayers “ of her devout and faithful subjects will be daily “ offered up to God for the prosperity of her government at home, and the success of her arms “ abroad.”

I am sometimes hoping, that we are not naturally so bad a people as we have appeared for some years past. *Faction*, in order to support itself, is generally forced to make use of such abominable instruments, that as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpressed, and cannot appear to exert itself; but when that is broken and suppressed, when things return to the old course, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reason and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or escape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of some god, to whose peculiar favour they imputed their success or delivery: and sometimes

sometimes the general did the like, *at his own expence*, to acquit himself of some pious vow he had made. How little of any thing resembling this hath been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps for that reason, among others, they have turned to so little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was consistent to offer up our edifices only to *those* whom we looked upon as *givers of all victory* in his stead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at six thousand pounds for a church, which is somewhat *under* the price of a *subject's palace*; yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thousand souls, with the benefit of their prayers for the prosperity of their Queen and country, may be almost put in the balance with the domestic convenience, or even magnificence of any *subject* whatsoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of Captain Graunt, published some observations upon the bills of mortality about five years after the *restoration*, tells us the parishes in London were even then so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time the increase of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the desire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the *fire*, and have ever since continued, have prodigiously enlarged this town on all sides, where it was capable of increase; and those tracts of land built into streets have generally continued of the same parish they belonged to while they lay in fields; so that the care of above thirty thousand souls hath been sometimes committed to one minister, whose church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in those parishes obliged to pay above a groat a-year to their spiritual pastor. Some few of those parishes have been

been since divided, in others were erected chapels of ease, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor shifts and expedients, to the infinite shame and scandal of so vast and flourishing a city, have been thought sufficient for the service of God and religion, as if they were circumstances wholly indifferent.

This defect among other consequences of it hath made *schism* a sort of necessary evil; there being at least three hundred thousand inhabitants in this town whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever so well disposed: and in a city not overstocked with zeal, the only way to preserve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as easy and cheap as possible; whereas, on the contrary, in the larger parishes the press is so great, and the pew-keepers tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save trouble and money, either stay at home or retire to the *conventicles*. I believe there are few examples, in any Christian country, of so great a neglect of religion: and the dissenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, *sowing tares among the wheat while men slept*, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And to say truth, the way practised by several parishes in and about this town, of maintaining their clergy by voluntary subscriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but hath many pernicious consequences attending it; such a precarious dependence subjecting a clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary spirit and resolution, to many inconveniencies, which are obvious to imagine; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wisdom and piety of the present parliament, and a tax laid upon every house in a parish for the support of their pastor. Neither indeed can it be
conceived,

conceived, why a house whose purchase is not reckoned above one third less than land of the same yearly rent, should not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half-tithe) to the support of the minister. One thing I could wish, that, in fixing the maintenance of the several ministers in these new-intended parishes, no determinate sum of money may be named, which in all perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided, but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each house, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several parishes of the city after the *fire*, where the incumbent and his successors were to receive for ever a certain sum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a-year. But the lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present one hundred pounds will not in process of time have the intrinsic value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty shillings three hundred years ago. There are a thousand instances of this all over England in reserved rents applied to hospitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themselves, in those payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better dispositions than her present Majesty for the advancement of true religion; so there never was any age, that produced greater occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable misfortune, that any design of so excellent a Queen should be checked by the necessities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of *modern politicians* have involved us in against all the maxims whereby our country flourished so many hundred years: else her Majesty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her American plantations. Those noble countries stocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until some bet-

ter

ter care be taken for cultivating Christianity among them. If the governors of those several colonies were obliged at certain times to transmit an exact representation of the state of religion in their several districts, and the legislature here would, in time of leisure, take that affair under their consideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her Majesty's reign.

But, to wave further speculations upon so remote a scene, while we have subjects enough to employ them on at home: it is to be hoped the clergy will not slip any proper opportunity of improving the pious dispositions of the Queen and kingdom for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times past, they consider how rarely such conjunctures are like to happen. What if some method were thought on towards repairing of churches? for which there is like to be too frequent occasion; those ancient Gothic structures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay. That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections seems, in my opinion, not very suitable either to the dignity and usefulness of the work, or to the honour of our country; since it might be easily done with very little charge to the public in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are so frequently called. But these and other regulations must be left to a time of *peace*; which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our share, however offensive it may be to any, either *abroad* or *at home*, who are gainers by the war.

No. 43. Thursday, May 31. 1711.

Scilicet, ut possis curvo dignoscere rectum.

HAVING been forced in my papers to use the cant words of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have so often varied their significations for twenty years past; I think it necessary to say something of the several changes those two terms have undergone since that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this work. I reckon that these sorts of conceited appellations are usually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themselves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cause, are consequently the most violent partisans of what they espouse, and in their quarrels usually proceed to their beloved argument of calling *names*, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick; and in time each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adversaries at first intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, *Huguenots* and *Papists*, *Roundheads* and *Cavaliers*, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us of late there seems to have been a barrenness of invention in this point; the words *Whig* and *Tory*, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been pressed to the service of many successions of parties with very different ideas fastened to them. This distinction, I think, began towards the later part of King Charles II.'s reign, was dropt during that of his successor, and then revived at the *revolution*; since which it hath perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of principles and persons. In that convention of Lords and Commons, some of both
houses

houses were for a *regency* to the Prince of Orange, with a reservation of style and title to the absent King, which should be made use of in all public acts: others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the succession should immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the last King were actually dead. And although the dissenting Lords (in whose house the chief opposition was) did at last yield both those points, took the oaths to the new King, and many of them employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other side; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although some of them were of the most eminent for abilities and virtue, and served that prince both in his councils and his army with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the same time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleased with the scheme of a *regency*, or at least an uninterrupted lineal succession, for the sake of those whose consciences were truly *scrupulous*; and they thought there were some circumstances in the case of the deprived bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved commiseration.

These and other the like reflections did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of *Whig* and *Tory*.

Some time after the revolution the distinction of *high* and *low* church came in, which was raised by the Dissenters in order to break the church-party by dividing the members into *high* and *low*; and the opinion raised, that the *high* joined with the *Papists*, inclined the *low* to fall in with the *Dissenters*.

And here I shall take leave to produce some principles, which, in the several periods of the late reign, served to denote a man of one or the other party.

party. To be against a standing army in the time of peace was all *High-church*, *Tory*, and *tantivy*; to differ from a majority of bishops was the same. To raise the prerogative above law for serving a turn, was *Low-church* and *Whig*. The opinion of the majority in the house of Commons, especially of the country-party or landed interest, was *High-fly* and rank *Tory*. To exalt the King's supremacy beyond all precedent, was *Low-church*, *Whiggish*, and *Moderate*. To make the least doubt of the pretended Prince's being supposititious, and a tiler's son, was, in their phrase, *Top* and *Top-gallant*, and *perfect Jacobitism*. To resume the most exorbitant grants that were ever given to a set of profligate favourites, and apply them to the public, was the very quintessence of *Toryism*; notwithstanding those grants were known to be acquired by sacrificing the honour and wealth of England.

In most of these principles the two parties seem to have shifted opinions, since their institution under K. Charles II. and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the revolution. But as to that concerning the pretender, the *Whigs* have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy; which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble Duke, who was accused of a blunder in the house, when, upon a Lord's mentioning the *pretended prince*, his Grace told the Lords, "He must be plain with them, "and call that person, not the pretended prince, "but the pretended impostor:" which was so far from a blunder in that polite Lord, as his ill willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed sentiments of his whole party.

But to return: This was the state of principles, when the Queen came to the crown; some time after which it pleased *certain great persons*, who had been all their lives in the altitude of *Tory* profes-

sion, to enter into a treaty of the *Whigs*, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be resty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor consent to carry on the war entirely at the expence of this nation, that they might have pensions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whose case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a sacrifice to the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth in a *very few*, that shall be nameless. who, in every step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his Royal Highness the Prince * had died some years, (who was a perpetual check in their career), it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time the bulk of the *Whigs* appeareth rather to be linked to a certain set of *persons*, than any certain set of *principles*; so that if I were to define a member of that party, I should say, He was one who believed in the late ministry. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of the *Whigs* in any of these papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood either of those who were partisans of the late men in power and privy to their designs, or such who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and *Dissenters* of all sizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which would not only put a stop to further abuses for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was past; or those who had been too highly obliged to quit their sup-

* Prince George of Denmark.

porters with any common decency ; or lastly, the *money-traders*, who could never hope to make their markets so well of *premiums*, and exorbitant interest, and high remittances, by other administration.

Under these heads may be reduced the whole body of those whom I have all along understood for *Whigs* : for I do not include within this number any of those who have been misled by ignorance, or seduced by plausible pretences, to think better of that sort of men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty dangers from their disgrace ; because, I believe, the greatest part of such well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it must be allowed, that the two fantastic names of *Whig* and *Tory* have at present very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the *revolution*, to be against the pretender, to justify the succession in the house of Hanover, to think the British monarchy not absolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not dispense with, and to allow an indulgence to scrupulous consciences ; such a man was content to be called a *Whig*. On the other side, whoever asserted the Queen's hereditary right, that the persons of princes were sacred, their lawful authority not to be resisted on any pretence ; nor even their usurpation, without the most extreme necessity ; that breaches in the succession were highly dangerous : that *schism* was a great evil both in itself and its consequences ; that the ruin of the *church* would probably be attended with that of the *state* ; that no power should be trusted with those who are not of the established religion, such a man was usually called a *Tory*. Now, although the opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintained at present by a great majority of the kingdom : yet, according as

men apprehend the danger greater, either from the *pretender* and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other *enemies* to the constitution, so their common discourses and reasonings turn either to the first or second set of these opinions I have mentioned, and they are consequently styled either *Whigs* or *Tories*: Which is as if two *brothers* apprehended their house would be set upon, but disagreed about the place from whence they thought the *robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different sides to defend it; they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a *separation*; and so did we, only our case was worse; for, in order to keep off a *weak remote enemy*, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any danger, we took a *nearer* and a *stronger* one into the *house*. I make no comparison at all between the two enemies; *popery* and *slavery* are without doubt the greatest and most dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of these have not, at least since the *revolution*, been so close and pressing upon us as that from *another faction*; excepting only one short period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicated king to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared, what sort of persons I have always meant under the denomination of *Whigs*, it will be easy to shew whom I understand by *Tories*. Such whose principles in church and state are what I have above related; whose actions are derived from thence, and who have no attachment to any set of *ministers*, further than as they are friends to the constitution in all its parts; but will do their utmost to save their prince and country, *whoever* be at the helm.

By these descriptions of *Whig* and *Tory*, I am sensible those names are given to several persons very undeservedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the least title to the blame

blame or praise I have bestowed on each of them throughout my papers.



No. 44. Thursday, June 7. 1711.

Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum et idem sentientis senatus.

Whoever calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealousies, the shameful misrepresentations of persons and of things, that were raised and spread by the leaders and instruments of a *certain party*, upon the change of the last ministry and dissolution of parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, must feel a mighty pleasure, although mixed with some indignation, to see the wishes, the conjectures, the endeavours of an inveterate faction entirely disappointed; and this important period wholly spent in restoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the subject; in reforming past abuses and preventing future, supplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, restoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the necessities of the church; and all this unattended with any of those misfortunes which some men hoped for, while they pretended to *fear*.

For my own part, I must confess the difficulties appeared so great to me from such a noise and shew of opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs could ever justify so daring an attempt. But a wise and good prince, at the head of an able ministry, and of a senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true interest of their country is a power against which the little inferior politics of any faction will be able to make

no long resistance. To this we may add one additional strength, which, in the opinion of our adversaries, is the greatest and justest of any; I mean the *vox populi*, so indisputably declarative on the same side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reserve their wisdom for some more convenient juncture.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief instruments of raising the noise, who started fears, bespoke dangers, and formed ominous prognostics, in order to scare the *allies*, to spirit the French, and fright ignorant people at home, made use of those very opinions themselves had broached, for arguments to prove, that the change of ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But if a house be *swept*, the more occasion is there for such a work, the more *dust* it will raise; if it be going to *ruin*, the *repairs*, however necessary, will *make a noise*, and *disturb the neighbourhood* a while. And as to the rejoicings made in France, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of those alterations among us; their joy was grounded upon the *same hopes* with that of the *Whigs*, who comforted themselves, that the change of ministry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confusion, increase our divisions, and destroy our credit, wherein I suppose by this time they are *equally* undeceived.

But this long session being in a manner ended, which several circumstances, and one *accident* altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual time; it may be some small piece of justice to so excellent an assembly, barely to mention a few of those great things they have done for the service of their Queen and country, which I shall take notice of just as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to suffer by a discount upon exchequer-bills, which have
been

been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all securities. The present Lord Treasurer, then a member of the house of commons, proposed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a *par* with *specie*; and so they have ever since continued.

The British colonies of Nevis and St. Christopher's had been miserably plundered by the French, their houses burnt, their plantations destroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away prisoners; they had often, for some years past, applied in vain for relief from hence; until the present parliament, considering their condition as a case of justice and mercy, voted them one hundred thousand pounds by way of recompense in some manner for their sufferings.

Some persons, whom the voice of the nation authoriseth me to call her *enemies*, taking advantage of the general naturalization-act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of *Palatines*, who understood no trade or handicraft, yet rather chose to beg than labour; who, besides infesting our streets, bred contagious diseases, by which we lost in *natives* thrice the number of what we gained in *foreigners*. The house of Commons, as a remedy against this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the surprise of most people, was rejected by the Lords. And upon this occasion I must allow myself to have been justly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the Commons being disappointed, took care however to send many of the *Palatines* away, and to represent their being invited over as a pernicious counsel.

The *qualification-bill*, incapacitating all men to serve in parliament, who have not some estate in land either in possession or certain reversion, is per-

haps the greatest security that ever was contrived for preserving the constitution, which otherwise might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the *moneyed* interest. And since much the greatest part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land, or from its productions, it is but common justice, that those who are the proprietors should appoint what portion of it ought to go to the support of the public; otherwise the ingrossers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their fingers.

The public debts were so prodigiously increased by the negligence and corruption of those who had been managers of the revenue, that the late ministers, like careless men who run out their fortunes, were so far from any thoughts of payment, that that they had not the courage to state or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer*, suitable to his transcendent genius for public affairs, proposed a fund to be security for that immense debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greatest restoration and establishment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legislature hath appointed commissioners of accounts to inspect into past mismanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have, in a former paper, mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjust to conceal my Lord High Treasurer's concern for religion, which hath extended even to another kingdom: his Lordship

• Earl of Oxford, having

having

having some months ago obtained of her Majesty the first fruits and tenths to the clergy of Ireland, as he is known to have before done to that Reverend body here †.

The act for carrying on a trade to the South-sea, proposed by the same great person, whose thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with success, on the good of his country, will in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlasting honour to the present parliament.

I might go on further, and mention that seasonable law against excessive gaming; the putting a stop to that scandalous fraud of false musters in the guards; the diligent and effectual inquiry made by the commons into several gross abuses. I might produce many instances of their impartial justice in deciding controverted elections against *former example*, and great provocations to retaliate. I might shew their cheerful readiness in granting such vast supplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the Queen; and lastly, that representation made to her Majesty from the house of Commons, discovering such a spirit and disposition in that noble assembly to redress all those evils which a long male-administration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that trusting only to my memory I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further, in the compass of this paper, than to give the world some general, however imperfect, idea how worthily this great assembly hath discharged the trust of those who so freely chose them; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wisdom,

† See the author's letters to Archbishop King.

and loyalty of such excellent patriots in a time so fruitful of occasions to exert the greatest abilities:

And now I conceive the main design I had in writing these papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the Queen proceeded with the highest wisdom in changing her ministry and parliament; that under a former administration the greatest abuses of all kinds were committed, and the most dangerous attempts against the constitution for some time intended. The whole kingdom finds the present persons in power directly and openly pursuing the true service of their Queen and country; and to be such whom their most bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetousness, ambition, pride, insolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, those little barking curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no further consequence to what I have written, than the scoffing slaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no stop or disturbance in the show. However, if these perpetual snarlers against me had the same design, I must own they have effectually compassed it; since nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the same species with creatures capable of uttering so much scurrility, dulness, falsehood, and impertinence, to the scandal and disgrace of human nature.



No 45. Thursday, June 14. 1711.

Melius non tangere clamo.

WHen a general hath conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often findeth it necessary to send out small bodies, in order to take in petty castles and forts; and beat little straggling parties, which are otherwise apt to make head and infest the neighbourhood. This case resembleth mine. I count the main body of the *Whigs* entirely subdued; at least, until they appear with new reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such; and therefore do now find myself at leisure to examine inferior abuses. The business I have left, is to fall on those wretches who would still be keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare goodwill towards *faction* and *mischief*; I mean, the present set of writers, whom I have suffered, without molestation, so long to infest the town. If there were not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak understanding, and misrepresentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve correction: but, as my endeavour hath been to expose the gross impositions of the *fallen party*, I will give a taste, in the following petition, of the sincerity of their *factors*; to shew how little those writers for the *Whigs* were guided by conscience or honour; their business being only to gratify a private interest.

To the Right Honourable the present Ministry, the humble Petition of the Party-writers of the late Ministry;

" Humbly sheweth,

" THAT your petitioners have served their time
 " to the trade of writing *pamphlets*, and *weekly pa-*
 " *pers*, in defence of the *Whigs*, against the church
 " of England, and the Christian religion, and her
 " Majesty's prerogative, and title to the crown:
 " that, since the late change of her ministry, and
 " meeting of this parliament, the said trade is
 " mightily fallen off, and the call for the said pam-
 " phlets and papers much less than formerly; and
 " it is feared, to our further prejudice, that the
 " *Examiner* may discontinue writing; whereby
 " some of your petitioners will be brought to ut-
 " ter distress; for as much as through false quo-
 " tations, noted absurdities, and other legal abu-
 " ses, many of your petitioners, to their great
 " comfort and support, were enabled to pick
 " up a weekly subsistence out of the said *Exa-*
 " *miner*.

" That your said poor petitioners did humbly
 " offer your honours to write in defence of the late
 " change of ministry and parliament, much cheap-
 " er than they did for your predecessors: which
 " your honours were pleased to refuse.

" Notwithstanding which offer, your petitioners
 " are under daily apprehension, that your honours
 " will forbid them to follow the said trade any
 " longer; by which your petitioners, to the num-
 " ber of fourscore, with their wives and families,
 " will inevitably starve; having been bound to no
 " other calling.

" Your petitioners desire your honours will ten-
 " derly consider the premises, and suffer your

" said

“ said petitioners to continue their trade,
“ (those who set them at work being still will-
“ ing to employ them, although at lower rates)
“ and your said petitioners will give security
“ to make use of the *same stuff*, and dress it
“ in the *same manner*, as they always did, and
“ no other.

“ And your petitioners, &c.”

It is a certain sign, that a man is in the right, when he raiseth all the scribblers against him : I have sometimes had it in my head to write a particular history of abuses and corruptions. As I find myself at leisure this summer, I shall pursue the design ; where besides enumerating the gross defect, not only of duty and respect to the most gracious Queen that ever reigned ; I propose to shew in every article, how wrong all things were managed under the late ministry ; how right they are now, and according to the *constitution*. Such a history would be the best means, not only to expose the principal actors ; but the weekly hirelings who toil in their defence ; who are so notoriously disingenuous, so distant from matter of fact, so short of that spirit and entertainment which too often mingle with such pens as dip only in falsities ; that, if I were to rake into their particular absurdities, (an attempt which they are secured from by their excessive dulness), I should have reason to look upon my sufferings as little short of the merit of that Roman, who, by leaping into a bottomless gulf, sacrificed his life to preserve his country

I have been often wondering how it comes to pass, that the late men in power should be so ill provided with writers ; considering at what full leisure the heads and leaders of *them* are, and I hope will ever be ; they might certainly have made a wiser and more judicious collection. If, as some imagine, their own hands have dipped in ink, and

that they themselves have a share in dressing up the *Medley* and *Observer*; it is a plain discovery, that their speculations are as mean and low as their practices: for how can we conceive that the politeness and sound judgement of *one*, should ever descend to Billingsgate, pedantry, and nonsense? Or that a *second*, who oweth his reputation of wit to his neighbours, should every day make his court officiously to a certain great minister, and yet once a-week so clumsily abuse him in his writings? When I consider the factious spirit (if any spirit they have) of those papers, I can hardly look for the author of them in *one*, who, by what means soever better convinced, had once so much of that sort of loyalty as to profess himself a Nonjuror.

With humble submission to worse judgements, I must determine that the author of the *Medley* is a dunce out of his element; pretending to intermeddle with *raillery* and *irony*, wherein he hath no manner of taste or understanding: his topic of railery may be all reduced under those two words, QUOTH HE; which he seldom faileth, in any one of his papers, to be arch with. His *irony* consisteth of the words, MY FRIEND, although sometimes relieved with an epithet. Doth he think that when he saith my *impious friend*, my *stupid friend*, and the like; saith it in every paper, and often a dozen times in one; that this is either wit, humour, or satire? If I were *impious* or *stupid*, I should really hope to be his friend, and think he spoke in earnest. *Irony* is not a work for such grovelling pens, but extreme difficult, even to the best; it is one of the most beautiful strokes of *rhetoric*, and which asketh a master-hand to carry on and finish with success: but when a bungler attempteth beyond his skill; what was at first misshapen, with aukward polishing becometh entirely deformed: as the false beauty of paint upon a lady's face is less desirable than

than no beauty at all ; and the pertness of a shallow fop, more disagreeable than his silence.

I should not have descended so much below the dignity of this paper, as to regard the course of these muddy writers, did not the heads of the late faction still endeavour to corrupt the minds of weak people, who are at a distance from the metropolis, by their diligence and liberality in circulating these weekly poisons *gratis*. Great numbers are constantly sent into the country, to prepossess the reader against the *Examiner* ; for no other reason, but because they would still mislead and prevent their being set right in facts, that they might not see how well the people did to assist the church and Queen : to this end they have been forced to make use of gross falsities, without the least appearance of truth : but, however those more modest of their party here may blush and wonder at the assurance of their friends, it serves their design in the country, where truth arrives late ; and since the mercy of the government, or rather a just contempt, still suffers these writers to continue these efforts, it is not doubted *there*, but what they deliver is, at least, free from notorious falsehood. But those clouds of ignorance will certainly fly before that light which now shines throughout the nation, from the *representation* offered to her Majesty, by the best *house of Commons* that ever sat ; who come the nearest to our *happy constitution*, both in the freedom of their elections, and that true English spirit, which have unanimously carried the majority of them *through*, to the end of this memorable *sessions*. In which *representation* the people may be convinced, that five parts in six of what the *Examiners* have charged on the late ministry and faction are true : which is so glorious, so unanswerable a justification of these papers, that any longer to declaim against them, will be as vain and insignificant, as it hath always been a ridiculous endeavour.



No 46. Thursday, June 21, 1711.

Pauca tamen suberunt prisca vestigia fraudis.

I Hope my countrymen will believe, that I have a very good occasion to congratulate with them upon the Queen's speech : all the honest part must be of opinion, that nothing ever proceeded from the throne more glorious for our representatives in parliament ; or more gracious and satisfactory to the nation. Could there, amidst that awful assembly, be any heart untouched at the voice of such a Queen ? Recollecting her piety, the uprightness of her life, her unwearied prayers and endeavours for the prosperity of her people ; from whose interests hers were never divided.

Her Majesty filled every loyal breast with joy, when, with her graceful air, and elegant manner of delivery, she told her parliament, " The pleasure she took to see the performance of those promises they had made her at the beginning of the sessions ; their complying with her desire to propagate the service of God, in the building so many new churches : enabling her to carry on the war ; making effectual provision for paying those debts, which were almost grown an insupportable burthen on the public ; when our enemies *every where* flattered themselves, that supplies for the service of the current year could not have been found."

Could any thing be more grateful to true British spirits, who had done their utmost towards retrieving our disorders, than to be applauded for disappointing the enemies of the nation, *in all respects* ! Not only by their raising greater sums than ever were granted to any prince, in one session ; but for restoring

restoring *public credit*, a blessing so invaluable, and so much despaired of by our enemies, that they concluded it impossible for the ministry and parliament to extricate us out of those amazing difficulties whereinto we had been plunged. And truly, if we impartially consider the measures upon which the late men in power proceeded, we shall find it extremely difficult to give any satisfactory account to reason or policy, for their notorious depeculations, (if my friend the *Medley* will give me leave to make use of that word); unless, like some momentary conquerors, they resolved to waste that empire they could not keep.

I am very well assured, that the former ministry, after a long run of ill husbandry, were often at their wits-end (until things grew riper for that change they had projected) how to prevent from breaking all at once upon the public, that report which they knew would ruin their designs. The whole government subsisted upon present credit, although vast sums were annually given to support the war; which were so far from being applied this way, that every year we were plunged more and more in debt. It is true, the parliament voted subsidies, and the willing people cheerfully paid them, in hopes, by an honourable peace, they should quickly see the end of their miseries and taxes: yet the arrear to the navy, and other charges, ran on; the ministry put a good face upon a decaying constitution; they employed all their arts to conceal the real distress we were in; they procured that money should be lent at five *per cent.* whilst the unhappy creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 *per cent.* discount, for every farthing they received upon the bills assigned them by the government. This they very well knew was such ill management as could not be long concealed: they had separately and prodigiously enriched themselves, to preserve their wealth and authority; but

now they must invade the constitution. As to their own possessions, an *act of indemnity* had secured them : and for the rest, they had little more to *risk*, than whether they should remain opulent subjects, although without any share in the power ; or become masters without limitation.

Avarice is ever insatiable ! How then must it destroy, when it has the wealth of a nation to feed on ? The miseries of the people, the tears and groans of poor seamen and their families, were not regarded by these devourers ; universal frauds and abuses not only winked at, but encouraged ; trade not dying, but dead. It is true, public credit was still alive, but subsisted only upon strong cordials ; in utter ignorance of her approaching dissolution. Yet no one step was made by these *state-physicians*, towards preventing her apparent decease ; much less did they take any thought about curing the malady they had occasioned ; they were not so void of reason as to be ignorant of the condition they had reduced us to ; they did know it, and stood provided of a *remedy* to secure themselves, (which a little time would perfect to their wish), and which all good subjects must tremble to think on ; a *remedy* a thousand times worse than the *disease* ; where, instead of an *indulgent lawful Queen*, we must have referred to a lawless *junto*, and to an *arbitrary captain-general*.

But now, God be praised, our fears are dissipated : the Queen is *free*, and acts entirely according to her own judgement and inclination ; the parliament acquiesceth in whatever she requireth : we have proved the happy effects of their mutual confidence ; and, as her Majesty telleth us from the throne, “ she shall look upon any attempt to lessen “ it, as a step towards dissolving her government.”

I could make many useful reflections upon the present happy change of our condition ; the different state of security to our constitution, wherein

this

this session hath left us, from the fears that possessed us upon the ending of the last; the dread and apprehension the majority of the kingdom were then in, lest *that* parliament should sit any more; the longings and impatiencies of the people, until her Majesty shall think fit, that *those* may meet again.

While the sinking credit of the nation hath been thus retrieved, by the great abilities and industry of the present ministry and parliament; the *convocation*, no less usefully employed in the cause of piety, have drawn up a "representation of the present state of religion, with regard to the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness; unanimously agreed upon a joint committee of both houses of the province of Canterbury; and afterwards rejected by the upper house, but passed in the lower."

I am sorry these pious labourers should be baffled in their godly endeavours by their own brethren. I have formerly, in two *Examiners*, touched upon the nature of this *synod*, and their divisions, together with the Queen's letter, and desire to reconcile all differences and disputes; and hoped to see the happy effects of her exhortation. The *inferior clergy* have proceeded with a spirit truly primitive; their *representation* is writ with such force of eloquence and argument, as must warm the coldest heart. The narrow compass of this paper will not permit me to enumerate all the heads: "They trace the deluge of *impiety* from that long and unnatural rebellion, which loosened all the bands of discipline and order; whence hypocrisy and enthusiasm begat a disregard for the very appearance of religion; and ended in a spirit of downright libertinism and profaneness: whence adversaries arose, who openly scattered the poison of *Arian* and *Socinian* heresies; the Godhead of the Holy Spirit denied; mysteries exploded,

" as

“ as implying contradictions, and incapable of be-
 “ coming objects of assent to reasonable minds, &c.
 “ From these wicked principles, wicked practices
 “ have followed; frequency of oaths and imprecations;
 “ all manner of excess and luxury, gaming
 “ upon the Lord’s day, &c. Upon which I must
 beg leave to subjoin, that a certain late *great minister*
 (in the good company of Sir James of the Peak,
 and others of the same sort) always made play his
 Sunday’s entertainment.

In this *representation* we have a melancholy prospect
 of the state of our religion; such amazing impieties
 can be equalled by nothing but by those cities of old,
 destroyed by fire from heaven: nor can that deluge of
 profaneness, which over-runs the nation, have any
 check from the pious endeavours of our clergy, whilst
 the majority, on one part, continue to disagree with
 the other, about the manner of putting essentials in
 execution. Mean time, the cause of Christianity must
 suffer, and our *convocations* still have the disreputation
 of doing *nothing*. The *representation* which themselves
 have transmitted to the lower house, is the same in
 very many of the facts. As to the difference of style
 and spirit, I conceive that doth not relate to the service
 of religion in general, any more than when I am
 excessive cold, whether I would chuse to be warmed
 by a quicker or more languid fire. Nor can I without
 pleasure take notice of one paragraph, where they hope,
 “ that especial care
 “ will be had of the education of young people at
 “ the universities; that tutors may teach their pupils
 “ the principles of the Christian religion, and
 “ endeavour to make them serious in it; with a
 “ particular eye to all such who are designed for
 “ holy orders.” Where such reverend prelates are
 concerned, it were a sort of sacrilege to dispute
 their sincerity: after this, dare any person imagine
 that their doctrine and their intentions can differ;
 or,

or, that so grave and venerable a body, upon so solemn an occasion, would deal in *irony*, or explain their meaning by contraries? This must doubtless convince all such who have hitherto, upon a wrong interpretation, presumed to square opinions by theirs, and have, with loud exclamations, shewn their abhorrence of an university-education, as tainting our youth with the principles of *loyalty* to sovereigns, and an implicit obedience to the slavish doctrines of the church.

As this admonition must satisfy such who surmised, that the majority did not approve educating children in the university; so the unhappy stop that hath been put to the designed *representation*, hath given the enemies of our holy religion (too numerous and politic a party to be armed by ourselves against ourselves) a seeming occasion to deride our divisions: and, as if those solemn proceedings were all but a jest, these ungodly persons are not afraid to be merry with the conceit of the upper house's dissenting from what five of their own members had before in a committee agreed to in the lower; as if they were acting a religious farce, called *A convocation and no convocation*; nor will they believe our bishops can have such concurrent fears of the growth of *impiety*, when they do not proceed in the means that should put an effectual stop to it, only for a *form*; or, to use the words of our church-adversaries, until the last remaining incroachment be made by the upper house upon the privileges of the lower.

These reflections are arrows in the heart of every honest churchman; we would recriminate in vain, our enemies flatter themselves we lie too open for a defence: We must therefore be content to wait with *patience* and *prayer* for a remedy to these *misfortunes*, until the lord of the harvest, in his good time, shall separate the tares from the wheat.

No 47. Thursday, June 26. 1711.

*Consolar socios ut longi tædia belli
Mente ferant placida.*

I Suppose some wit and much leisure have made it a fashion among ingenious persons, to send letters, by way of assistance, to us weekly writers. It is easy to imagine, that I have had my share of such contributions; for which, although I be very thankful, yet I must confess, with some vanity, that my mind is rather burdened than relieved by those intelligences. If I take notice of some, and not of others, I proportionably disoblige; however, as they fall in my way, I promise to do what lieth in my power, towards introducing into the world the works of those *anonymous* persons who are so fond of being authors.

In the first place, out of his exceeding zeal to the cause, *one* is alarmed at the industry of the *Whigs*, in aiming to strengthen their routed party, by a reinforcement from the circumcised; as not contented with *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Freethinkers*, and all sorts of *Christian sectaries*; besides a considerable number of *apostates*, or if you please *deserters*, from our own body; and therefore recommendeth to me, that some care may be taken to put a stop to these gallimaufry meetings, these prohibited conjunctions of Jews and Christians; since in order to bring those infidels within the wide circle of *Whiggish* community, neither blandishments nor promises are omitted; the very women proving accessaries; as for example, a certain *great lady*, with some beauteous auxiliaries, did not disdain to grace Sir Solomon Medina's magnificent ball and collation;

tion; nor was the young Duchefs (although a toast of the first rate) in the least disgusted at giving her hand to dance in partnership with a frowzy Jew.

Another person sendeth me a letter, complaining of the small reputation of the Queen's physicians. This careful person seemeth to belong to the church by his expression, where he blames the late ministry for imitating Jeroboam, who ordained priests out of the lowest of the people; and confining that sacred life, the *breath of our nostrils*, to the charge and care of such men, to whose slender abilities they would be very far from trusting their own.

The third cometh from a sufferer under the late *junta*; one, who remaining fully satisfied of his own merit, repines that others have not the like valuable estimation; and are not expeditious enough in rewarding the said merit: he therefore recommendeth to me a subject necessary to be read by all who have pretensions, or live in a court, called, *The nature of delay*; or, *The virtues and advantages of procrastination*.

A fourth person is sensibly piqued at the *Medley's* popular reflection, "That the Queen's most gracious speech should be printed in *Abel's Post-boy*, with this very just conclusion: But we have lived to see the day wherein every thing great and illustrious among men is treated with an unbecoming familiarity: all orders of men must expect to be huddled into the vile multitude; and used as if they had not sense of glory or infamy." My correspondent inquireth, what devil owes this *writer* and his *party* a shame, to make *him* talk of a day? that *scandalous day*! when insignificant *pages* and forward *attorney-clerks* were hoisted above the knowledge of themselves, or their remembrance of others; not only perverting to their several uses the treasure of the nation, but
presuming

presuming to give laws even to their sovereign; *that was, indeed, a day which we have all lived to see, when all things great and illustrious among men, were, by arrogant upstarts, treated not only with an unbecoming familiarity, but with treachery and pride; when it might be truly said, that, under such petty and yet arbitrary dispensation, all orders of men were huddled into the vile multitude, and used as if they had not sense of glory or infamy.*

The fifth letter recounts a scandalous passage that happened at the auction of the late Mr. Bernard's library; and prayeth me to give all besitting discouragement to such enormities. It seemeth some gentlemen were talking of a scarce book which treated of spirits and apparitions; one of them asked Mr. Toland, what he thought of *ghosts*? whether he had any belief of such things? He readily answered, he was so far from believing *ghosts*, that he did not believe what men call the *Holy Ghost*.

The next (whom I shall do the favour to shew at length, because he calleth himself a *Whig*, and may possibly charge me with an unfair quotation, if I sink any part of what he wrote) sends me an invitation to come over to his side; but lest this may be thought *gasconade*, I had best refer to the original letter.

S I R,

“ YOU have stood the shock of the shallow
 “ writers, aided by the best *finishers* of our party,
 “ with so much reputation, and so much to their
 “ confusion, that I, who have a value for your
 “ person and abilities (but an aversion to your
 “ cause), advise you to renounce the *Tories*, and
 “ come over to *us*. Their business is done, they
 “ have no more occasion for your pen; you must
 “ therefore expect to be neglected and forgotten,
 “ as your fellow-labourers have been. Whom
 “ have they ever rewarded? They go quite con-
 “ trary

" trary to our maxim ; none, although ever so
 " undeserving, have suffered imprisonment and
 " hardship for us ; but we look upon it as our com-
 " mon interest to protect and uphold them, because
 " we have but *one*, the *Tories* as *many* interests as
 " there are persons. Besides, in writing for the
 " strongest side, you have commiseration against
 " you : Nor need your apostasy fear finding its
 " account, for the reasons before mentioned,
 " and one more very considerable, which is, that
 " false witnesses are always well paid. The only
 " objection can be made against this proposal,
 " is, you may think, perhaps, you have so far in-
 " censed us by your many discoveries of our *arca-*
 " *na*, that you cannot expect to be received with
 " any degree of warmth or confidence. If this be
 " your opinion, you are a great stranger to our
 " principles ; we never refuse to accept an enemy
 " with open arms, when we can thereby strengthen
 " our own, or weaken our adversary's party ; we
 " are so far true politicians, that both our love
 " and hatred always give way to our interest ; but
 " besides, all must know our own blind side, which
 " was never proof against flattery, how fulsome
 " or unjust soever. How many authors, with no
 " other merit, flourished under the late ministry ! I
 " would advise you therefore to write a treatise,
 " which will be very fashionable and useful, called,
 " *The art of shifting sides*, and dedicate it in these,
 " or the like terms ;

To all honest Whig-gentlemen, and virtuous Whig-
 ladies, in and about the cities and liberties of
 London and Westminster.

GENTLEMEN and LADIES,

" A man who ventures to publish bold truths in
 " these days of Toryism and arbitrary govern-
 Vol. III. P " ment

“ ment, unless he hath a powerful interest to support him, must expect to be scurvily treated by the persecuting part of the world : without very good seconds, he may shew abundance of zeal, but little discretion ; like those knights of old, who used to plunge alone into the midst of armed foes. The only difference between the courage of the hero, and that of the author, seemeth to lie in the success : one meeteth with Tyburn, Newgate, or at best a messenger ; whilst the other gallantly rescueth his mistress, or carrieth off the prize. For this reason I presume to apply to you for protection, and I hope to make my future services atone for my past offences. You are too considerable, both in number and power, to fear a defeat ; and too zealous of the truth, to suffer its champion to be borne down and trampled upon by enemies.

Gentlemen, “ Your very adversaries cannot deny but you have more money than they, and consequently must give up the superiority of wit : and, although they have disputed the point of honesty, it appears the balance now lieth entirely on your side ; witness the many unanswerable steps you have taken for the good of the nation, the wonders of your late administration, your respect and honour for the true interest of your Queen and country, your concern for the public credit, and your readiness to advance money upon great emergencies, where the safety of the state so eminently required it.

Ladies, “ Were your plea to virtue and beauty less evident, you might stand more in need of a champion ; but I never heard any who durst presume to say, you have more virtue than beauty, or less humility than prudence ; you shine in your zeal for the cause, and your condescension is so bright a character, that there are few
“ men

"men, how despicable soever, but what found
 "the happy effect of it."

S I R,

"By my intimacy and station among them, I
 "have so exact a knowledge of what will please,
 "that I have sent you this rough draught,
 "which I will undertake to be the universal sense
 "of our party; only leaving you to model it, after
 "such a manner as you think best. I hope, you
 "will not defer your conversion, but conclude
 "this a mark of my kindness for you. Pray make
 "your advantage of this advice, and you will very
 "much rejoice,

S I R.

Your affectionate friend,
 and humble servant."



N^o 48. Thursday, July 12. 1711.

—*Neque semper arcum*

Tendit Apollo.

IT sometimes happens that I am either sick, or
 lazy, or splenetic; and sometimes, perhaps like
 other authors of great reputation, I am dull by de-
 sign. In such unglucid intervals it falleth out, that
 three or four of my papers are inferior to the rest:
 however, the credit of the former keeps them up
 a while; and even judicious people are often pre-
 judiced for a week or two in their favour; or per-
 haps are so candid to expect a better next time.
 But the majority of readers go on with the same
 appetite, whether the paper be good or bad; until
 they are taught by their betters what their senti-
 ments are to be. It thus fareth between me and

the *Medley*, who, although he hath been always so liberal with his epithets, as if he had them by him ready printed, and had nothing to do every week but fill up the blanks; yet, in one or two of his last papers he hath outdone himself, because somebody hath told him that the *Examiner* is grown dull. I fear they have told him truth: and how can it be otherwise, when I am descended from animadverting upon the corruptions in the late administration, to be an antagonist of his? I had hopes of giving some diversion to the town and myself, during this idle season of the year, by exposing the follies of his productions; but find I have been unhappily infected with the stupidity I design to ridicule. This *Medler* is the perfect reverse of Sir John Falstaffe; he is not only dull himself, but he is also the cause that dulness is in other men.

However, I think I have found out a way to read his papers, from henceforward, without danger to my understanding; and therefore I now give him notice, that I design to write with wit and spirit for some time; which otherwise he would hardly apprehend until about a month hence.

He hath injured me in saying, *I insult her Majesty's physicians*; I only repeat the words of my correspondent: if the Queen discard her present physicians, he is at a loss how we shall find *Tories* to supply their places: because, he assureth us, *the Tories are as great quacks in science as in politics*. If the trial of quackery must be determined by skill in politics, I dare appeal to the *Whig* physicians themselves to decide which are the quacks; and whether the *Tories* of the faculty have not made much better prognostics upon the body-politic, by chusing to adhere to the present ministry.

And, if respect to the Queen's person be the question; the *Medley* sure is not well in his wits, to revive the memory of that defect for which some

of

of his party have been famous. Suppose him really ignorant ; upon ever so little recollection of any of his friends, he may quickly be informed which side have the best pretence that way to favour ; since this writer, and I am glad to find it, can admit reverence and duty to her Majesty are, although late, come to be considered as a sort of merit.

Methinks this person, who will be my friend whether I will or no, putteth himself and me to much more trouble than he needeth. If he would fairly cavil with me paper by paper, and then have done, there might be some hope ; but without end, I am to be perpetually worried and punished this month for the sins of the last ; so that it is not properly *this Medley contra that Examiner*, but *every Medley against every Examiner* ; when he seems this week to say all that his little invention and spite can supply, and I may safely conclude he hath exhausted the subject ; he returns when I least dream of him, with stale malice and double dulness, to empty that quiver which he hath filled with arrows from abroad : but when his merciless auxiliaries are withdrawn, some to pleasure, others to debate how to retrieve, by caballing, what they lost by ill conduct ; or are amused by fawning at court ; or disabled by the disorders of a broken constitution ; this harmless person abateth very much of the poignancy of his satire.

Whilst I was thus reflecting upon this famous *monitor*, my printer brought me several letters, but not all of them wrote by myself to the *Examiner*, as the sagacious *Medley* suggesteth ; with his humble advice, that it would not be amiss to print more frequently those letters I daily receive ; his old way of judging of the goodness by the sale, made him extol that paper, wherein I had lately obliged so many of my correspondents, protesting, that since the Roman triumph, or what he calls the *laurel*

crown and Marcus Crassus, he had not seen a greater call for any particular *Examiner*; the reason seemed plain; the underhand endeavours of my fellow-writers have succeeded; the concurrent interest of many authors must be much more prevailing than that of one; in consideration of which, I resolved upon that easy method of filling up a paper, and, at the same time, obliging a friend.

The first letter complaineth with justice of the great neglect I have been guilty of, in letting the *Medley* boast himself so long upon the clause in the *act of insolvency*, relating to the receivers of the revenue: he exhorteth me to read carefully the act at length; where he assureth me I shall find the requisite sanction included, although couched in other terms; from whence he infers, that whatever cunning was requisite to the drawing up the said act, he needeth not be a *Volpone* to discover the intent: he beggeth me to take this matter into *examination*, which I promise him shortly to do, although to the abolishing my antagonist's witty advertisement, and confirming my own opinion, that a cunning knave will sooner commit a hundred crimes (although of as black a dye that come within a hair's breadth of the gallows) than one clumsy one, by which he may be made to mount it.

The second letter is of such a length, that I am sorry it cannot be inserted here: I find it so ingenious, that I do not think fit to abridge it: the gentleman treateth, with a description very delicate, of the art of courts, or the means by which treacherous enemies are to a miracle transformed into faithful friends, professed admirers, and most obsequious flatterers; with the great secret how to overcome that scrupulous modesty which deters some few from imitating the rest; and embracing with open arms those whom, heretofore, they would have destroyed.

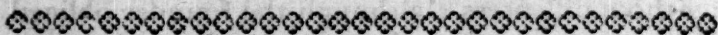
A third

A third draweth up a very pathetic representation of the hardships inflicted upon a reverend divine, late chaplain of Morden college upon Blackheath, for no other reason but his being an honest *Tory*, and truly orthodox : and really the management seemeth so unfair, that if, upon an exact inquiry, I find the facts to be true ; such as their letting part of the said college to a coffeehouse ; reducing the number of twenty decayed merchants to twelve, and those dissenters ; although the founder obliged his trustees to no such limitation ; assigning twenty pounds a-year for each person, which is also reduced to twelve pounds *per annum* : if, I say, these facts prove true, I shall not fail to take a proper time to set them in the best lights I am able.

A fifth, with gilt paper, neat wax, and under cover, dateth his remonstrances from the drawing-room ; and in a courtly style, which I am not polite enough to imitate, setteth forth the vicissitude of human things, the change of manners and fashions ; seemeth with pleasure, yet regret, to call to memory an age, wherein possibly himself might flourish, in which the modes that now obtain, would not have been endured. In short, he appeareth extremely shocked at the conduct of two *great ladies*, who took the liberty to behave themselves in the Queen's presence, before a full court, as if they had been at ease in their own *ruelles*, with none but inferior persons about them. Reverence, distinction, decency, were made only for little people ; these ladies are above the punctilio of laws and customs : their own charms, the merit of their ancestors, their gratitude, greatness of soul, respect and duty to their sovereign, may support irregularity in their posterity.

I hope the *Medley* will allow these passages may have been extracted out of real letters ; since I could as well have produced them for my own : be that as it will, I am glad he alloweth me to keep so good

good a correspondence with myself. His censure, if it be true, amounteth to no more than this, that I am so far from being obliged to others for my matter, as to be forced to father my own upon those who will please to accept it ; wherein I differ as much from him, as one who stealeth money into his neighbour's pocket, doth from a rogue who picketh it out.



No 49. Thursday, July 19. 1711.

Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterasque bonas artes, subvertit, pro iis superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, et omnia venalia habere, edocuit.

I Consider myself grown a very useless writer ; but it was no more than I foresaw, when I first began with the *Medley* : I knew my paper would insensibly dwindle into the thing himself and his party desired ; and my time be lost in managing a dispute fruitless to the town, and insignificant even to ourselves ; he is resolved not to be convinced, nor I to be perverted ; he hath still his prompters, and I my readers ; we both are where we began ; he will yet continue to animadvert falsely ; and I design henceforward to take no more notice of what he writes, than men are used to do by notorious liars ; who, if they ever happen to speak truth, must bring other vouchers than themselves, to gain that belief which their continued course of falsity hath justly robbed them of from the public.

I had perhaps closed my papers with this, and took leave until the meeting of the parliament ; pleased to leave affairs in so quick and promising a condition, had I not met with a very scarce manuscript out of a certain library : I believe the translation

tion of part of it will not be unacceptable to the town. The author is that famous Italian, Giovanni Adollrandi, who made his particular request, that his works might never be printed : the manuscript I speak of is called *Marcus Antonius*, wrote in the same sort of verse with the *Rinaldo of Tasso*; whose senior he was : the passage I would translate, is Fulvia's going to the house of Pride, to implore the succour of the goddess towards ruining the virtue of Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus : there are so many parallel incidents in the description, that I am tempted to believe our famous Spenser had read this poem, when he gave the world his fourth canto of the first book of his *Fairy Queen*.

The author introduceth Dolabella telling the history of the triumvirate ; Lepidus's removal, Anthony's behaviour in the east, and Octavius's government at Rome, when he had called Agrippa to assist him in the management of affairs ; whose wisdom and great abilities proved destructive to the hopes that Anthony's friends had entertained, of seeing him sole arbitrator of the empire. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, is recorded by Plutarch to be a bold and enterprising woman ; our poet entereth very well into her character ; where Dolabella relates, that he beheld in his journey a stupendous palace, with a broad high way made bare by the number of passengers who hourly travelled that way ; few of whom ever returned, but such whom poverty had reduced : the avenues were filled with beggars, who, although in rags and ruins, retained their former air and deportment : when they required your charity, it was still with a vaunting introduction of what they had been.

Approaching nearer, I saw, continued he, two busy persons, gaily habited, entertaining the croud that were in the broad road. These were Flattery and Folly. The first made herself acceptable by excess of compliance, and perpetual praises ; for
such

such was her industry, that she left not even *vice* without its applause; endearing to the wearers their very defects. Folly was no less assiduous in bespeaking credit of her sister, assuring her, that whatever was spoke by Flattery was indisputable. In this delightful conversation, the travellers passed happily on to the *palace*, where they were met by Vanity, who with much applause and ceremony, which they took for respect, conducted them into the house of Pride.

This dazzling unwieldy structure was built amidst the tears and groans of a people harassed with a lingering war, to gratify the ambition of a *subject*; while the *sovereign's palace* lay in *ashes*. It was dedicated, from the first foundation, to the goddess of Pride; the building excessive *costly*, but not *artful*; the *architect* seemed to consider how to be most profuse, and therefore neglected an advantageous eminence (made proper by nature) to build one a quarter of a mile short of it, at the vain expence of fifty millions of sesterces. There were to be seen stately *towers*, noble *porticoes*, ample *piazas*, and well-turned *pillars*, without one handsome room, unless you will call the kitchens and cellars such; which parts of the house happen to be of very little or no use to the *parsimonious* founder; a number of chambers, but none convenient; fine gardens without water; the whole building raised upon a sandy foundation; every breath from court, every blast puffed away some grains of that huge fleeting hill, upon which this palace was erected.

Here the goddess kept her court, within an inner chamber, into which passengers were conducted: she was seated upon a throne, raised under a *canopy* within an *alcove*; whoever gazed on her seldom beheld any thing with approbation but themselves: her beauty was mixed with disdain, and well expressed her inward contempt for inferior objects; she never fixed her eyes upwards, unless when by intervals

interval's they were cast upon a *mirror* she held in her hand, which reflected back her own charms, the only image wherein she took delight.

My attention, as well as that of the whole assembly, was suddenly taken off from the goddess, and transferred to a lady, who with precipitation broke through the croud, and made directly to the throne: although past her meridian, her bloom was succeeded by so graceful an air, that youth could scarce make her more desirable: her fair hair was tucked under a *tiara* of jewels, made in the fashion of a coronet. If her beauty preposessed us to her advantage, we were not less terrified in beholding the company she was in: on one side marched Envy, lashing her with whips and *snakes*; giving her to drink by intervals from a cup of wine mingled with gall and wormwood: her other supporter was Wrath, who continually tossed a flaming brand, directing her sight to a dagger which he held; his looks ghastly, his limbs trembling, his body half-exposed, the rest clothed with a robe stained with blood, and torn by his own fury, which was so fierce he could not restrain it sometimes from falling upon himself. His breath was incessantly applied to the lady's spleen and brain, from whence violent agonies and raging frenzies succeeded, as was evident by a *tofs* and motion as particular as wonderful.

She was attired in a crimson *robe* edged with *ermine*, and buckled with diamonds; her train borne by one who had formerly been master of the ceremonies, and who, under the false title of *good establishment*, had introduced her with applause into the world; yet, having made the fortune of his votary, he was no longer solicitous to preserve appearances, but submitted to be called by his true name, *Ingratitude*.

The goddess not only vouchsafed her a gracious look, but gave her hand to the lady, who was nam-
ed

ed Fulvia ; after a tender embrace she seated her by herself on the throne ; called her conqueress in right of her husband ; daughter, favourite, her representative, her other self ; bid her name her distress, and depend upon her for relief.

Fulvia, with sighs, told the goddesses, that from a prospect of being the most happy person, she was become the most miserable : The laurels daily fading upon the brow of her absent lord ; their partisans wholly removed from Augustus's favour ; and, which was worse, Agrippa, a person of fatal virtue, destructive to the ambition of her party, was trusted with the sole management of affairs, notwithstanding their mighty cabals and hourly intrigues, to retrieve the power they had lost. Agrippa's reputation was mounted to such a pitch, that she could not behold and live ; those two tormentors, Wrath and Envy, giving her no remission, until he were destroyed. She therefore besought the goddesses, since false reports, treachery, and assassinations had failed, that she would go herself, and take Avarice along with titles and wealth, to puff up his soul, and destroy his virtues, that he might fall, as herself and other favourites had done, by the sin of pride, and the love of riches.

To whom the goddesses replied : It is not the least of my troubles that I must tell you, your request is vain : I have attempted enlarging our empire, by the accession of so powerful a person as Agrippa ; I applied the charms of wealth and luxury ; I applied myself ; but he is more abstemious, more sedate than before : I beheld the hateful goddesses of Virtue incircling him with her protecting wings ; I heard her tell him, she would direct his steps and never forsake him ; that the empire should flourish at its greatest height under his administration ; that Pride should be defeated, Avarice return baffled and ashamed ; his hoards inviolable : that the up-
rightneſs

rightness of his manners, his extensive soul and vast capacity, should make his a name, which the race of favourites for time immemorial should think it their glory to be called by : whereas history had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the parallel would be in some parts an injustice to his character ; as if unbounded power and solid virtue had been irreconcilable until met in Agrippa.

But, my beloved daughter, that virtue we cannot corrupt, may yet be eclipsed ; we will cause distrust and impatience to enter into the minds of his party ; they shall fear what they ought to reverence : those prodigious qualifications that distinguish Agrippa, may be turned against him ; whilst his very foes admire his abilities, we will make his friends miscall his wisdom, *cunning*. Although he be incessantly working for the good of the empire, they shall be hoodwinked to those advantages. Neither new seas explored, nor counties discovered and subdued ; the heavy debts of the empire discharged, credit restored, peace brought home to their dwelling ; trade secure and flourishing ; shall overcome those suspicions and bad impressions we will make upon the people. Your *faction*, vigilant and bold, shall disperse false reports ; Anthony's zeal must languish ; let him attempt no farther for the good of the empire, but his own : those two demons that haunt you shall be appeased ; Revenge be satiated ; offer upon his altars, and supplicate the goddess of Discord, that she may disappear from among you, and more effectually possess your enemies.



No 50. Thursday, July 26, 1711.

*Sed nos immensum spatium confecimus aquor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantiaolvere colla.*

NOW that I have completed the number of my papers, and, for the space of a year, done my country what lay in the power of an honest, although concealed pen; I shall take my leave of the town, with particular thanks for its favour; and some acknowledgment to the *Medley*, for so constantly explaining what he thought my meaning in any dark allusions or allegories; and retire myself from the fatigue of politics and state-reflections, until some more urgent occasion again call forth my endeavours.

It is very difficult, in an interested world, for any one to be thought free from those views that influence others; there are so few persons content to sacrifice their own good to that of the public, that I do not wonder to have a wrong interpretation put upon my labours; and myself, although entirely otherwise, accused as directing them to some mercenary end; and full of the desire of making my fortune, by application to the prevailing party: but let such who are my accusers remember, that this paper was begun while yet the *late ministry* were at the helm, and nothing but their mismanagement to prognosticate their loss of power.

To those who have complained, that my writings were not always equal, the spirit the same, or the matter so entertaining; let such begin to consider, my business was to *instruct*; I would not descend to *divert*: I was neither a *Plautus*, nor a *Moliere*; I did not so much as pretend to *wit*, much less *buffoonery*: I went not in pursuit of a laugh, but confined myself to one subject, and that a very serious one.

one. How extreme difficult it is to succeed often upon the like topic, I leave to the consideration of the judicious; who know how hard it is to vary the same discourse, and admit of frequent repetition, without being cloyed; with which I have no reason to tax my readers; since the printer telleth me, the sale of my paper is not at all diminished; or its reputation fallen; which, I must confess, were temptation enough for me to continue it, if I had mercenary views, or were not the end I proposed already answered; which maketh me chuse, although perhaps not quite so civilly, to rise myself, and leave my guests with an appetite for more, rather than stay till they should call to take away.

And, notwithstanding the charge that hath so often been brought against me, with an intent to wound *great men* through my side; of my being a contemptible hireling, and a little mercenary fellow without probity or principles; one whose actions were directed by others, from whence the machine talked and moved as conducted by higher hands: I solemnly declare, I am still as much unknown to the leaders of our own party as to the others, and very likely to remain so, as long as I please myself; notwithstanding the wise remarks of the *Observer*, and the guesses made by the judicious *Medley*.

Among the many pretenders in this town, you can hardly produce me one, who will not undertake to discover and point out the difference of style, and manner of thinking, peculiar to the several men of wit: this pamphlet is certainly from such a hand; they know his manner perfectly: that paper of verses is infallibly of such a poet, no man in England could write it but he; and this sometimes even upon the first essay of an author. I, among the rest, used to determine formerly at the same rate, but shall be more cautious for the future; having seen the world and myself so often

and so wretchedly mistaken. How many fathers has this paper of mine been ascribed to! Among all the men of wit, who are in the interest of the present ministry, I know not one who hath escaped some report or suspicion of being the author. The *Medley* hath guessed round; and from his skill in that part of learning, called *dog's logic*, thought he would infallibly hit upon it at last. Thus he hath done what he would have us think is an injury to several innocent persons; and if the *Examiner* be a stupid, false, and slanderous paper, as he weekly affirms; I think he is bound in conscience and common justice, to repair the injury he hath done to the reputation of those worthy persons he hath falsely intitled it to; and who have never given him the least provocation for any such calumny.

The judicious reader cannot but observe how weak that cause must be, which the joint endeavours of their party have not been able to defend, against an unknown person, who hath had nothing but *naked truth* to oppose to whole armies of complicated falsehoods and malice: yet, supported by the goodness of the cause, I have waded through seas of scurrility, without being polluted by any of that filth they have incessantly cast at me. I have neither misrepresented persons nor things; nay, out of tenderness, have often forbore to shew their weakest side. I appeal to all impartial men, whether time hath not discovered more abuses in the management of the late ministry, than the *Examiner* could expose? The facts are now so obvious and uncontroverted, that I presume there is no need of a *monitor* to point out those things, to which every man is become capable of directing himself.

Of all the doubtful steps that I have taken in the conduct of this design; there is none for which I so much blame myself, as first descending to take notice and talk to those wretched adversaries that have weekly fought against me; it was putting myself

self upon a level with such whose designs and mine were entirely opposite : I was fired by the love of my country, and that noble ardour which conducteth us through a thousand difficulties in the pursuit of justice : my attempt was to *discover* abuses, theirs to *conceal* them ; I pursued truth, they openly adhered to falsehood ; my pen was valued for its sincerity, theirs despised for dissingenuity ; and yet I was so weak to enter the lists, merely to satisfy those friends who became uneasy at their not being opposed, and could not account for my neglect : a fault many have been guilty of, in consideration of others, although against a man's better sense and reasoning ; as I could instance in several things, and particularly in one example out of Plutarch ; if the comparison may not be thought too great a presumption : it is that of Pompey the Great, who ventured a battle with Cæsar, when it was not his interest ; “ merely because he was a man of that honour and modesty, he could not bear a reproach ; neither would he disoblige his friends ; but broke his own measures, and forsook his prudent resolutions, to follow their vain hope and desire.” How much more commendable was the constancy of Phocion, who, when the Athenians urged him at an unseasonable time to fall upon the enemy, peremptorily refused ; and being upbraided by them with cowardice and pusillanimity, told them, “ Gentlemen, we understand one another very well ; you cannot make me valiant at this time, nor I you wise !”

But it is time to have done with such worthless combatants : if I have not foiled them, I am certain they have not hurt me, any otherwise than in my own opinion, for attempting to engage them. I shall conclude with observing the beauty of that prospect which lieth before me, and for which I congratulate with all my countrymen ; the security to our religion and happy constitution, under

our most pious Queen, her excellent parliament, and able ministry; which to speak of, one by one, would be a volume, not a sheet, Methinks I behold the younger Cato in Mr. St. John *; all that love for his country, that contempt of danger, and greatness of soul, of whom it was said, "It was not for honour, or riches, nor rashly, or by chance, that he engaged himself in the affairs of state; but he undertook the service of the public, as the proper business of an honest man; and therefore he thought himself obliged to be as diligent for the good of that, as a bee for the preservation of her hive."

By our well-governed strength at home, we are now beginning to be truly formidable to our enemies abroad: France was never so busy in searching expedients that may incline towards a peace: they find it is become their interest to be sincere; nothing but the unexpected death of the Emperor; and that distracted state of northern affairs, which at this time threateneth a breach in the confederacy; and the seeds of which mischief have been long sown, could prevent our finding the speedy effects of it. All but those who are wilfully blind, and bigotted to a party, plainly see the advantage of the change that hath been made; although considering the circumstances of a tedious war, I am so far willing to comply with some gentlemen, as to admit there was a hazard in it, inasmuch as a "civil war is worse than any tyranny": from whence I take leave to hope, we shall not easily repeat the danger; and since all changes are not good, let us change no more.

* Secretary of State, created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

* * * The *Examiners* were written in defence of the new administration, and the particular revolutions

tions at court, which had introduced the Earl of Oxford, and had displaced the Earl of Godolphin and his friends.

Many of Swift's *Examiners* are personally aimed at the General [the Duke of Marlborough]. In a free country, the power of a general is always to be feared. The greater his military capacity, or the more successful his arms, in the greater danger are the liberties of the people. On this maxim Swift proceeded: and while he was writing in defence of the commonwealth, he had an opportunity of giving a loose to his own severity; of which the *house of Pride*, and several other allegorical essays, are very spirited examples.

But I am fettered in my animadversions on these papers. The present times, and the honour which I bear to many noble families, descended from persons mentioned in the *Examiners*, make me willing to take as slight notice as possible even of the wittiest passages in those papers, because many of those passages arise from personal reflections, or party-sarcasms. In general, the several points relating to the national debt, (alas! how increased since the year 1710!), the too long continuance of the war, and other public topics of complaint, are melancholy truths, justly becoming the pen of a man who loves his country.

Within these last forty years, the political treatises have been so numerous, so various, so local, and so temporary, that each new pamphlet has succeeded its predecessor, like a youthful son to an ancient father, amidst a multiplicity of followers, admirers, and dependents; whilst the antiquated sire having *strutted and foamed his hour upon the stage is heard no more*, but lies silent, and almost entirely forgotten, except by a few friends and contemporaries, who accidentally remember some of his just observations, or prophetic aphorisms, which they have lived to see accomplished. Thus has it fared, even in

my

my time, with the *Examiners*, the *Freeholders*, and the *Craftsman*. And the same fate will attend most writings of that sort; which being framed to serve particular views, fulfil the purport of their creation, and then perish: while works of a more liberal and diffusive kind are acceptable to all persons, and all times; and may assume to themselves a certain prospect of surviving to the latest posterity.

But when a young gentleman enters into the commerce of life, he will be obliged, in his own defence, to look into every thing that has been written upon political subjects. In England a man cannot keep up a conversation without being well versed in politics. In whatever other point of learning he may be deficient, he certainly must not appear superficial in state-affairs. He must chuse his party; and he must stick to the choice. *Non revocare gradum*, must be his motto; and Heaven forgive such an one, if the *gradus* now and then enforces him to act against self-conviction.

If party, and the consequences of it, had arisen to that height among the Romans and Grecians, as it has risen of late years among the English, their poets would probably have added *her* to the three furies, and would have placed her in hell, as a fit companion for Typhon, Megara, and Aleto; from whence, according to their description, she might have made excursions upon earth, only with an intention to destroy, confound, mislead, and disunite mankind.

It is true, that all countries have their parties and their factions. But there is a certain contagious distemper of this, so peculiar to the British islands, that, I believe, it is unknown to every other part of the world. It increases our natural gloom, and it makes us so averse to each other, that it keeps men of the best morals, and most social inclinations, in one continual state of warfare and opposition. Must not the source of this ma-
lady.

lady arise rather from the heart, than from the head? from the different operations of our passions, than of our reason?

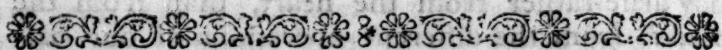
*Furoræ cæcus, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa?*

Swift, a man of violent passions, was, in consequence of those passions, violent in his party. But as his capacity and genius were so extraordinary and extensive, even his party-writings carry with them dignity and instruction. And in that light one should read the *Examiners*, where he will find a nervous style, a clear diction, and great knowledge of the true landest interest of England. *Orrery.*

The house of Pride, in the Examiner, No 49. was not the production of Dr. Swift; but was one of the visions of Mrs. Manley, who wrote the *Atlantis*. Swift.

The last *six Examiners* were not wrote by Dr. Swift, as appears from the notes at No 13. But as they had got a place in all former editions of the Dean's works, Hawkesworth's excepted, we were advised to retain them in the present edition.

Some



Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB.

In a Letter from a Person of Honour.

Written in the year 1711.

The PUBLISHER's PREFACE.

ABOUT the year when her late Majesty of blessed memory thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and some others; the first of these being made an Earl and Lord Treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his friends for not making a general sweep of all the *Whigs*, as the latter did of their adversaries upon her Majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament-men, amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the Treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body, under the name of the *October Club*, and had many meetings to consult upon some methods that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch in removing all of the *Whig* leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members, the rest of the ministry joined with the Treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide, those who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treasurer's sincerity, with many of those very reasons which are urged in the following discourse,

course, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The Treasurer alledged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen who possessed them had been long versed, very loyal to her Majesty, had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their Queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majesty such gentlemen, whose principles with regard both to church and state his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring employments for those who deserved them by their honesty and abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or by dividing them the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty we have been assured, that the following discourse was very seasonably published with great success, shewing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be truly loyal churchmen, zealous for her Majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the house of Hanover, if the Queen should happen to die without issue. This discourse having been published about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.

Some

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB *.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the

* This pamphlet was written in the year 1711, and is so applicable to that particular time that I shall not make any animadversions upon it. From political tracts, the true history of England is to be deduced: and if foreigners were to enter into that branch of reading, they might frame a more distinct notion of our legislature, and of our manners, than from more laboured and connected accounts of our constitution. In such a view, I am apt to think, that, at first sight, they must behold us a disunited, discontented, and seemingly an unsteady people. But I am certain, that, upon a more exalted, or a more minute disquisition, they must find in us a fixed, and, I may say, an innate love of liberty, variegated, and perhaps sometimes erroneous in its progress, but constant and unwearied, in the pursuit of that glorious end. What people upon earth can desire a more exalted, or a more distinguished character: to speak in the dialect of the Heathen world, our errors are the errors of men, our principles are the principles of gods. *Orrery.*

Perhaps that clear, impartial account of the indigested schemes of the October club, as it fell accidentally from the pen of Dr. Swift, may throw some additional light upon the history of that era, which, it must be confessed, is very greatly wanted; and at the same time be a caution to all worthy and sober men, who principally intend the good of their country, in all their reasonings and debates, not violently to oppose and distress any ministry whatsoever, who desire to act with temper and moderation upon constitutional principles. His account of them runs in these terms. "We are plagued with
" an October club, that is, a set of above an hundred parliament-

" men;

the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session an incident hath happened, to provide against the consequences whereof will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured in some sort to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have men-

"men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the parliament, to consult affairs, and drive things on to extremes against the Whigs; to call the old ministry to account, and get off five or six heads. The ministry seem not to regard them; yet one of them in confidence told me, that there must be something thought on to settle things better. I'll tell you one great state-secret. The Queen, sensible how much she was governed by the late ministry, runs a little into the other extreme; and is jealous in that point even of those who got her out of the other's hands. The ministry is for gentler measures, and the other Tories for more violent. Lord Rivers talking to me the other day, cursed the paper called the *Examiner*, for speaking civilly of the Duke of Marlborough. This I happened to talk of to the secretary, who blamed the warmth of that Lord and some others; and swore that if their advice were followed, they would be blown up in twenty-four hours. And I have reason to think, that they will endeavour to prevail on the Queen, to put her affairs more in the hands of a ministry than she does at present: and there are, I believe, two men thought on; one of them you have often met the name of in my letters."

Swift's letter to Stella, Feb. 18. 1710. Swift.

tioned could have been prevented by any care without straining a very *tender point*, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all means; because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their predecessors; although it is certain the two cases were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been safe, for there was no other danger in view; but the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning; and those who *kept the watch* had early warning of it. It would have been a masterpiece of prudence in this case to have made a *friend of an enemy*. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All accomodation was rendered desperate by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that situation of affairs; and I am told, was not approved by a certain great minister. It was obvious to suppose, that, in a particular where the honour and interest of a *husband* were so closely united with those of a *wife*, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and a shelter from *domestic tyranny*, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, *early* practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge to sharpen his invention: nothing else is required besides *obsequiousness* and *assiduity*; which, as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the *best and greatest minds*.

It was no small advantage to the *designing party*, that, since the adventure at Windsor, the *person on whom we so much depend* was long absent by sickness; which

which hindered him from pursuing those measures that ministers are in prudence forced to take to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The *negotiators* on the other side improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost; and by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many falsehoods, persuaded certain lords, (who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should *lead them out of their coaches into the dirt*), that voting in appearance against the court would be the safest course to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their pensions; and their opinions, when produced, would by seemingly contradicting their interest have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with some arguments of more *immediate power*, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen, and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my Lord Chief Justice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church-party and the ministers had different views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so *little done*; that they thought it looked as if people were *not in earnest*; that they expected to see a *thorough change* with respect to employments; and although every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints and less danger from the other party; that this change

was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by some in favour of the ministry, that it was impossible to find employments for one *pretender* in twenty; and therefore in gratifying one nineteen would be disoblighd; but, while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve: but this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end, and would cause a general discontent; with twenty other objections to which it was liable: and indeed, considering the short life of ministers in our climate, it was with some reason thought a little hard, that those for whom any employment was intended, should by such a delay be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the strongest light, although my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which in all appearance lieth so hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point? How shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers upon several accounts; but never so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, although they dare not convince the present, until it is too late. This letter is sent you, *Gentlemen*, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, although for the rest as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others

of his fellow-subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you would depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at *that door*, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place, which is the true cause of a weakness that I never yet knew great ministers without; I mean their being deaf to all advice: for, if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point, where he is not master of all the circumstances, (which perhaps are not to be told), it is a hundred to one but he runs into an absurdity; from whence it is, that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts blindly pursue a point of no importance, against the advice of every friend he had, until it ended in his ruin. I have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the *strongest shoulders* to sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. These, and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament: and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others of inferior understanding. But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, it is hardly possible that our judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which hath afterwards proved

the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very men who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new set of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plausible manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints that *enough hath not been done*, those complaints should not be carried so far as to make us *forget what hath been done*, which at first was a great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much courage and address were not employed in the beginning of so great a work without a resolution of carrying it through, as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly have compounded two years ago to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation: It is principally to the abilities of *one great man*, that you, *Gentlemen*, owe the happiness of meeting together to cultivate good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the *same* we all owe that mighty change in the most important parts of the kingdom; that we see the sacred person of our prince encompassed by those whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power: and if every thing besides that you could wish hath not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful although *unknown impediments*, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reason to hope from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these impediments will in a short time effectually be removed: and one great motive to hasten the removal of them will doubtless be the reflection upon those dangerous consequences, which had like to have ensued upon

upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy ; power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least of all *offensive weapons*.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry hath been on every side ; by the impossibility of carrying on the war any longer without taking the most desperate courses ; or of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer : by the clamours of a faction against any peace without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable ; by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirit up a sinking faction to blast all our endeavours for peace with those popular reproaches of France and the pretender ; not to mention the danger they have been in from private *insinuations of such a nature* as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over, and those who *are at the helm* will have leisure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which, now makes up the adverse party, consisteth of an union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little time it must of necessity fall to pieces. The *Dissenters* with reason think themselves betrayed and sold by their *brethren*. What they have been told, that the present *bill* against *occasional conformity* was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass ; and if any other profound refinement were meant it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party have no other tie but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest, not cement-
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ed by principle or personal friendship : I speak particularly of their leaders ; and although I know that court-enmities are as inconstant as its friendships ; yet from the difference of tempers and principle, as well as the scars remaining of former animosities, I am persuaded their league will not be of long continuance : I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy ; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold scent*, or playing a *desperate game*, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late *disappointment*, they will leave no arts untried to recover themselves ; and it behoves all who have any regard for the safety of the Queen or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary, who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the first opportunity that shall offer : and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope in the *same quarter from whence their lost reinforcement came*. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs so much as a disagreement among ourselves founded upon a jealousy of the ministry, who I think need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant rage of the party-leaders against them.

There is one fault which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The *Tories* acknowledge, that the *Whigs* out-did them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other: the *Whigs* allow the same to the *Tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point ; for, doubtless, the *Tories* are less vindictive

vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in *punishing*, will probably be so in *rewarding*; although at the same time I well remember the clamours often raised during the reign of that party against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side, because it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing; but surely the case is very different at this time, when whoever adheres to the administration, doth service to God, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But, if the *Whig* leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural for mankind to be more *violent in an ill cause* than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The *court* and *country* party, which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for better times and worse *princes*. The Queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the *court* and *country* are of a side; and the *Whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nursed by the necessities or mistakes of a late *good, although unexperienced prince*. *Court* and *country* ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, until they are intirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would most answer their interest

interest and their wishes; a perpetual war increases their money, breaks and beggars their *landed enemies*. The ruin of the church will please the *Dis-senters, Deists, and Socinians*, whereof the body of their party consists. A *commonwealth*, or a *protector*, would gratify the *republican principles* of some, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no discontents of an inferior nature, such, I mean, as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, *Gentlemen*, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the *secret instruments* of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from some late incidents, more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a *certain person* be in earnest, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to strike directly at his head.

When it happens, by some private cross intrigues, that a great man hath not the power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Mean time his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or to his defect of goodwill; and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power, especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister in this difficult case is sometimes forced to preserve his credit by forbearing what is in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what is *not*; or perhaps for fear of shewing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach
of

of delay, unsteadiness, or want of sincerity. So that there are many inconveniencies and dangers either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that ministers may happen to suffer for the *sins of their predecessor*, who, by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the distribution of both. And, as in common life, whoever hath been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint, even from those who have been the instruments of setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded. In such a juncture I cannot discover, why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to *prevent an ill man from coming in*.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, to which you, *Gentlemen*, or others, who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended even by those who think they have the best information. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion; yet whoever will reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or suppose some small part of this accusation were true) which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced), yet the consequences of any resentment at this time must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for if the present ministry be made so uneasy, that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course
into

into the old hands of those whose *little fingers* will be found heavier than their predecessors loins. The *Whig* faction is so dexterous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power with a spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last triumvirate: and those ministers who have been most censured for too much hesitation, will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance: but these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold for asserting his rights; to see his prerogative trampled on, and his treasure applied to feed the avarice of those who make themselves his keepers; to hear himself treated with insolence and contempt; to have his family purged at pleasure by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and shadow of a king no longer than his ephori shall think fit.

These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that invenomed party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, until this domestic enemy is out of all possibility of making head any more.

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A PROPOSAL for the universal use of IRISH MANUFACTURE, in *cloaths* and *furniture of houses*, &c. utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing *wearable* that comes from ENGLAND*.

Written in the year 1720.

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greatest discouragements from England, those are what they are sure to

* Upon Dr. Swift's arrival in Ireland, that spirit which had been raised against him by the Whigs in England, insatuated likewise the whole populace of Dublin, insomuch that when he walked through the town, he was frequently pointed at and abused by several of the meaner shopkeepers, mechanics, and other base fellows without name or occupation. These abominable wretches, like their brethren the yahoos, would often scrape the kennels with their nasty claws, to throw dirt and filth at him as he passed through the city; all which he bore for two or three years, until the brutes became tired of their scurrility, not so much with a resigned philosophical patience, as indeed with that superior contempt for all unworthy demeanor, which is only to be conceived by the most improved and exalted minds. But these animosities having subsided for two or three years, instead of rejoicing over the miseries of that people which had without cause borne a tyrannous hate against him, he began to look down with pity on their distressed condition: he regretted the calamities of his country and the absurdity of their politics; he deplored their want of commerce, and lamented all their grievances. At last, in 1720, he resolved, as far as lay in his power, to correct the errors and the blunders of his deluded countrymen; and with that view he writ short and lively *proposals for the universal use of Irish manufacture*, &c.; on account of which a prosecution was set on foot against Waters the printer of that pamphlet, which was carried on with so much violence, that one William Whitshed, then Chief Justice, thought proper, in a manner the most extraordinary, to keep the jury eleven hours, and to send them back nine times out of court until he had

to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading, *Agriculture*, which hath been the principle care of all wise nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are so many statute-laws in England, we countenance so well, that the landlords are every where by *penal clauses* absolutely prohibiting their tenants

wearied them into a special verdict. But Whitshed, a man of low birth and narrow education, whose whole pittance of learning was confined within the magic circle of the laws, the doctrine of precedents, and practice of the courts, was by no means aware by what unmerciful strokes a patriot and genius like Dr. Swift could avenge upon him the cause both of himself and country. Whitshed, armed with power, and sure to be supported, in the virulent days of party, against all those who adhered to their Tory principles, first gave the alarm to battle by an attack upon Waters the printer. Swift, armed with genius, and fired with a zeal for liberty and public interest, flew directly to the charge. But finding he had to deal with an adversary unequal to the combat, he contented himself for the present with giving him three or four lashes, and making him thoroughly contemptible in the eyes of the world. But soon after Swift had further occasion for exerting all his powers against the unfortunate Whitshed, *Swift*.

This treatise spread very fast, upon which a person in great office sent in haste for the Chief Justice, (Whitshed), and informed him of a seditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance, directing at the same time, that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour.—The *Chief Justice* had so quick an understanding, that he resolved if possible to outdo his orders.—The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail:—the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry: the *Chief Justice* sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until being tired out they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the judge by what they call a *special verdict*. During the trial the *Chief Justice*, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cause being so very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon (the D. of G--ft-n) the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, his Grace, after mature advice and permission from England, was pleased to grant a *Noli prosequi*. See Swift's letter to Pope, of Jan. 10. 1721.

This piece first turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour.

When the author had finished Gulliver's travels, he found an opening to indulge his love of politics, and to commence a patriot for Ireland: and he made use of the opportunity, by increasing the natural jealousy which the lesser island constantly entertains of the greater.

His

tenants from ploughing *, not satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the English; one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market. And because people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vast tracts of the best land, for the feeding of sheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *history of the wise men of Gotham*, with a catalogue only of some *wonderful laws* and customs we have observed within thirty years past. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France hath been our only support for several years past, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents, and go to market. But our merchants assure me, "this trade hath received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France: that most of their wine is paid for in specie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence."

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we shall do with our wool, in case Barn-

His treatise, or proposal, immediately raised a very violent flame. The printer was prosecuted: and the prosecution had the same effect which generally attends those kind of measures; it added fuel to the flame. But his greatest enemies must confess, that the pamphlet is written in the style of a man, who had the good of his country nearest his heart; who saw her errors, and wished to correct them; who felt her oppressions, and wished to relieve them; and who had a desire to rouse and awaken an indolent nation from a lethargic disposition, that might prove fatal to her constitution. *Orrery*. ----- See *An excellent new song on a seditious pamphlet*.

* It was the practice of Irish farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow; and when their leases were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that the landlords, by their zeal to prevent it, were betrayed into this pernicious measure.

staple * should be overstocked, and our French commerce should fail.

I could wish the parliament had thought fit to have suspended their regulation of *church-matters*, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, because they did not appear very pressing, at least to the persons *principally concerned*; and, instead of these great refinements in *politics* and *divinity*, had *amused* themselves and their committees a little with the *state of the nation*. For example: What if the house of Commons had thought fit to make a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it so far as utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies; and declared, that whoever acted otherwise, should be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation*? What if they had sent up such a resolution to be agreed to by the house of Lords; and by their own practice and encouragement spread the execution of it in their several counties? What if we should agree to make *burying in woollen a fashion*, as our neighbours have made it a *law*? What if the ladies should be content with Irish stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken by *male and female*, never to appear with one single *sbred* that comes from England; *and let all the people say, AMEN.*

I hope, and believe, nothing could please his Majesty better than to hear, that his loyal subjects of both sexes in this kingdom † celebrated his *birth-*

* A sea-port in Devonshire, at that time the principal market in England for Irish wool.

† Her Grace the Dutches of Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant's lady, is said to have appeared at the *castle* in Dublin wholly clad in the manufacture of Ireland on his Majesty's birthday 1753.

day, (now approaching), *universally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to save them from the brink of ruin? If the men's opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs as in brocades; and, since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chusing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late Archbishop of Tuam mention a pleasant observation of some body's; "that Ireland would never be happy until a law were made for burning every thing that came from England, except their people and their coals." I must confess, that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we shall have no occasion for them.

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti judicis ostrum,

but I should rejoice to see a *stay-lace* from England be thought *scandalous*, and become a topic for *censure* at *visits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking shopkeepers in this town had not been utterly destitute of common sense, they would have made some *proposal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpose I have mentioned; promising to improve the "cloths and stuffs of the nation into all possible degrees of fineness and colours, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry either as to the prices or the goodness." For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the *rascally merchants* and *woolendrapers* would in four and twenty hours raise their *cloths* and *silks* to above a double price; and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with *petitions* to the court, "that they were ready to starve, and their fineries lay upon their hands."

I could wish, our shopkeepers would immediately think on this *proposal*, addressing it to all persons of quality and others; but first be sure to get some body who can write sense to put it into form.

I think it needless to exhort the *clergy* to follow this good example; because “in a little time those
“among them who are so unfortunate to have had
“their birth and education in this country, will
“think themselves abundantly happy when they
“can afford Irish crape and an Athlone hat;” and as to the others, *I shall not presume* to direct them. I have indeed seen the present Archbishop of Dublin* clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet under the rose be it spoken, “his
“Grace deserveth as good a gown, as if he had
“not been born among us.”

I have not courage enough to offer one syllable on this subject to *their Honours* of the army: neither have I sufficiently considered the great importance of *scarlet and gold lace*.

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpose. The goddesses had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin, very famous for *spinning and weaving*: they both met upon a trial of skill; and Pallas finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her rival down, and turned her into a spider; injoining her to *spin and weave* for ever *out of her own bowels*, and in a *very narrow compass*. I confess, that from a boy I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess on account of “so cruel and unjust a sentence;” which however is *fully executed* upon us by England with further additions of *rigour and severity*, for the greatest part of our *bowels and vitals* is extracted with-

* Dr. King,

out allowing us † the liberty of *spining* and *weaving* them.

The scripture tells us, that “oppression maketh “a wise man mad;” therefore, consequently speaking, the reason why some men are not *mad*, is because they are not *wise*: however, it were to be wished, that *oppression* would in time teach a little *wisdom* to *fools*.

I was much delighted with a person, who hath a great estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, “how grievously *poor England* suffers by “impositions from Ireland: *that we* convey our “own wool to France in spite of all the *harpies* at “the customhouse: that Mr. *Shuttleworth*, and “others on the *Cheshire* coasts, are such fools to “sell us their *bark* at a good price for tanning our “own *hides* into leather: with other enormities of “the like weight and kind.” To which I will venture to add more: “That the *mayoralty* of this “city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by “a deputy with a moderate salary, whereby *poor England* loseth at least one thousand pounds a-year upon the balance: that the *governing* of this “kingdom costs the Lord Lieutenant three thousand six hundred pounds a-year; so much net loss to *poor England*: that the people of Ireland “presume to dig for coals in *their own* grounds; “and the *farmers* in the county of *Wicklow* send “their turf to the very market of *Dublin*, to the “great discouragement of the coal-trade of *Mos-tyn* and *Whitehaven* *: that the revenues of the

† In the spring 1753, the parliament of England passed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay yarn, from any port in Ireland to any port in England; which was before prohibited. And

In the winter 1753, the Irish parliament prohibited the importation of gold and silver lace, except of the manufacture of England.

* *Mos-tyn* in *Flintshire* and *Whitehaven* in *Cumberland*.

“ *post-office* here, so righteously belonging to the
 “ English treasury, as arising chiefly from our own
 “ commerce with each other, should be remitted
 “ to London, clogged with that grievous burthen
 “ of exchange ; and the pensions paid out of the
 “ Irish revenues to *English favourites* should lie un-
 “ der the same disadvantage, to the great loss of
 “ the grantees. When a divine is sent over to a
 “ *bishopric* here, with the hopes of five and twenty
 “ hundred pounds a-year ; and upon his arrival he
 “ finds, alas ! a dreadful discount of ten or twelve
 “ *per cent.* a judge, or a commissioner of the revenue
 “ has the same cause of complaint. Lastly, The
 “ ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be
 “ Irish manufacture ; and yet is allowed to be sung
 “ in our open streets, under the very *nose of the go-*
 “ *vernment.*”

These are a *few*, among the many hardships we put upon that poor kingdom of England : for which I am confident, every *honest* man wisheth a *remedy* : and I hear, there is a project *on foot* for transporting our best wheaten *straw* by sea and land-carriage to Dunstable ; and obliging us by a law to take off yearly so many *tun of straw hats* for the use of our women ; which will be a *great encouragement* to the manufacture of that industrious town.

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law to bind men without their own consent be obligatory in *foro conscientiæ* ; because I find, Scripture, Saunderson, and Suarez, are wholly silent on the matter. The oracle of *reason*, the great *law of nature*, and general opinion of *civilians*, wherever they treat of *limited governments*, are indeed decisive enough.

It is wonderful to observe the bias among our people in favour of *things, persons, and wares* of all kinds, that come from England. The printer tells his *hawkers*, that he has got an excellent new song just brought from London. I have somewhat
 of

of a tendency that way myself; and upon hearing a *coxcomb* from thence displaying himself with great volubility upon the *park, the playhouse, the opera, the gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accomplishments. It is not many years since I remember a *person*, who by his stile and literature seems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-press in some *blind-alley* about Little Britain, proceed gradually to be an *author*, at least a * *translator* of a lower rate, although somewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now *flourishes* in Grubstreet; and upon the strength of this foundation come over here, *erect* himself up into an *orator and politician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. This I am told, was the *very motive* that prevailed on the † *author* of a play called, *Love in a hollow tree*, to do us the *honour* of a visit; presuming, with very good reason, *that he was a writer of a superior class*. I know another, who for thirty years past hath been the *common standard of stupidity* in England, where he was never heard a minute in any *assembly*, or by any *party*, with *common Christian treatment*; yet, upon his arrival hither, could put on a *face of importance and authority*, talk more than six, without either *gracefulness, propriety, or meaning*; and at the same time be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence and wisdom*.

Nothing hath humbled me so much, or shewn a greater disposition to a *contemptuous* treatment of Ireland in some chief *governors*, than that high stile of several speeches from the *throne*, delivered as usual after the *royal assent* in some periods of the two last *reigns*. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condescensions* in the prince to pass *those good*

* Supposed to be Cæsar's Commentaries, dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, by Col. Bladen.

† Lord Grimston.

laws, would have but an odd sound at Westminster; neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can pass, wherein the *King's* interest is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a speech on the like occasion, delivered by my Lord Wharton *, (I think it was his last), he desired Mr. Addison to *ask my opinion on it*. My answer was, "That his Excellency had very honestly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph; wherein he asserted, by plain consequence, a dispensing power in the Queen." His Lordship owned *it was true*, but *swore* the words were put into his mouth by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that some *ministers* in those times were apt, from their *high* elevation to look down upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in America. And I observed a little of the same turn of spirit in some great men, from whom I expected better; although, to do them justice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them correct their *idea*, whereof the whole nation quickly found the benefit.——But that is forgotten. How the stile hath since run, I am wholly a stranger; having never seen a speech since the last of the Queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our country-landlords; who, by unmeasurable *screwing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable *people* to a worse condition than the peasants in France, or the vassals in Germany and Poland; so that the whole species of what we call *substantial farmers*, will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen labouring with all their might for preventing the *bishops* from letting their

* Lord Lieutenant.

revenues at a moderate half value, (whereby * the whole *order* would, in an age, have been reduced to manifest beggary), at the very instant, when they were every where canting † their own land upon short leases, and sacrificing their *oldest tenants for a penny an acre advance*. I know not how it comes to pass, (and yet perhaps I know well enough), that *slaves* have a natural disposition to be *tyrants*, and that when my *bettors* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my *footman*, altho' perhaps he may be an honest and diligent fellow. I have heard great divines affirm, that "nothing is so likely" to call down an universal judgment from heaven "upon a nation, as universal oppression;" and whether this be not already verified in part, *their Worships* the landlords are now at full leisure to consider. Whoever travels this country, and observes the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himself in a land, where *law*, *religion*, or *common humanity* is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town ‡. I never saw the proposals, nor understand any one particular of their scheme: what I wish for at present, is only a sufficient provision of *hemp*, and *caps*, and *bells*, to distribute according to the several degrees of *honesty* and *prudence* in *some persons*. I hear only of a monstrous sum already named; and if OTHERS do not soon hear of

* Whereby, that is, by preventing the bishops revenues from being let at half value. See this position explained and proved in the tract called *Arguments against enlarging the power of bishops*.

† Canting their land is letting it to the highest bidder. — Cant signifies the same as auction.

‡ This project for a bank in Ireland was soon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected.

it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of less sagacity than myself and a very few besides take me to be. And the jest will be still the better, if it be true, as judicious persons have assured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewise much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldsmiths to melt down our heavy silver.



A LET-

A LETTER to the *Skopkeepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common People of IRELAND*, concerning the *Brass Halfpence* coined by one WILLIAM WOOD, Hardwareman, with a design to have them pass in this kingdom.

Wherein is shewn the power of his *patent*, the value of his *halfpence*, and how far every person may be obliged to take the same in payments, and how to behave himself in case such an attempt should be made by Wood, or any other person.

(Very proper to be kept in every family.)

By M. B. D R A P I E R *.

Written in the Year 1724.

LETTER

* About the year 1722, when Charles Duke of Grafton was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood an hardwareman and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper-money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000 l. to pass there as current-money. The Dean believing this measure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be sharers in the profits which would arise from the ruin of a kingdom, assumed the character of a *Draper* which for some reason he chose to write *Drapier*, and in the following letters warned the people not to receive the coin which was then sent over.

Dr. Swift having retired from the political world, and amused himself for 3 or 4 years with poetry, conversation, and trifles, (which is perhaps the finest test of a thorough consummate genius, that is above all particular systems and hypocritical pretences to philosophy),



L E T T E R I *

To the Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers,
and Country-people in general of the king-
dom of Ireland.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-subjects,

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next
to your duty to God and the care of your
salvation,

being alarmed in 1724 with fresh matter of indignation to resume his pen, boldly withstood the whole force of an infamous projector, encouraged and supported in his villany by those who were understood to be the chief directors in all public affairs. The project of this impudent fellow was, by virtue of a patent which he had fraudulently obtained by the interest of the then favourite Chryseis, to coin halfpence for Ireland at about eleven parts in twelve under the real value, and force their currency in that kingdom; which, notwithstanding his patent, supposing that he had made his halfpence ever so good, no man living was obliged, or, by virtue of the prerogative of the crown, could be obliged to receive in any payment whatever: nothing being in truth the current coin of England or Ireland, beside gold and silver of the right sterling standard; the baser metals being only accepted for the conveniency of change, which every man that pleases may reject whenever he thinks proper, without being afraid to incur any penalty from the law. This whole matter the Doctor laid open in a short treatise, the Drapier's first letter.

The judicious reader cannot but observe, that in this letter the author hath adapted his stile, his phrases, his humour, and his address in a very wonderful manner to the taste and apprehension of the populace. Neither indeed is the title-page wholly void of that captivating rhetoric which is admired by the common people; for it concludes like that of the whole duty of man, *Very proper to be kept in every family.* Swift.

* The first five of the Drapier's letters were published in pamphlets at different times. The sixth and seventh were first published in 1735, in the 4th volume of the Dublin edition of Dr. Swift's works.

The

salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children; your *bread* and *cloathing*, and every common necessary of life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *men*, as *Christians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmost attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less expence, I have ordered the printer to sell it at the lowest rate.

The sixth and seventh of the Drapier's letters were procured from a friend of the author's in the original manuscript, as we are assured, and have good reason to believe: those who are better judges, will soon determine whether they are genuine or not. It is the opinion of several wise men, that the Drapier's letters, and the other writings relating to our poor country [Ireland], may be very useful to posterity, by warning them for the future to oppose the same, or the like evil designs, however plausible they may at first appear to unthinking people; or however artfully they may be represented (like this destructive project of William Wood) by those who are to divide the spoil with that impostor; or, lastly, by prostitute flatterers who are sure to find their private account in the ruin of the kingdom; which ruin would have certainly followed, if the author, whoever he was, had not published his letters in the most proper juncture, and fitted to all sorts of readers; whereby in two or three months he turned the whole nation, almost to a man, against that iniquitous scheme. — The letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton is written with much caution, because the author confesses himself to be Dean of St. Patrick's; and I could discover his name subscribed at the end of the original, although blotted out by some other hand. I can give no other reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the writer finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the people in power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the paper in his cabinet. — There is but a small part of the address to both houses of parliament that relateth to Wood and his coin. The rest contains several proposals for the improvement of Ireland, the many discouragements it lies under and what are the best remedies against them. — By many passages in the other letters, but particularly in the *address*, concerning the great drain of money from Ireland, by absentees, importation of foreign goods, balance of trade, and the like, it appears that the author had taken much pains, and been well informed in the business of computing, all his reasonings upon that subject, although he does not descend to particular sums, agreeing generally with the accounts given by others, who have since made that inquiry their particular study. And it is observable, that in the *address*, as well as in one of the other letters, he hath specified several important articles, that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him. — *Dub. edit.*

It is a great fault among you, that, when a person writes with no other intention than *to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.* One copy of this paper may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago a little book was written to advise all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear country* *. It had no other design, said nothing against the *King or parliament*, or any person whatsoever; yet the poor printer was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, and even some *weavers* themselves, (for whose sake it was written), being upon the JURY, *found him guilty.* This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and when he must expect only *danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain story of the fact*: and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country.*

The *fact* is this: It having been many years since COPPER HALFPENCE OR FARTHINGs were last coined in this kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many *counterseits* passed about under the name of *raps*: several applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but

* A proposal for the use of Irish manufactures.

they did not succeed. At last one Mr. Wood, a mean ordinary man, a hardware dealer, procured a patent under his Majesty's broad seal to coin 108,000 l. in copper for this kingdom; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now, you must know, that the *halfpence* and *farthings* in England pass for very little more than they are worth: and, if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the *brazier*, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his *halfpence* of such *base metal*, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the *brazier* would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a *shilling* of his; so that this sum of 108,000 l. in good gold and silver must be given for *trash*, that will not be worth above eight or nine thousand pounds real value. But this is not the worst; for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another 108,000 l. and buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve under the value. For example, if a *batter* sells a dozen of *bats* for five *shillings* a-piece, which amounts to three pounds, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of five *shillings*.

Perhaps, you will wonder how such an ordinary fellow, as this Mr. Wood, could have so much interest as to get his Majesty's broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be sent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own *halfpence*, as we used to do. Now, I will make that matter very plain: We are at a great distance from the King's court, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *squires*, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there: but this same Mr. Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest; he is an Englishman,

and had great friends, and it seems knew very well *where to give money* to those that would speak to others, that could speak to the *King*, and would tell a *fair story*. And *his Majesty*, and perhaps the great lord or lords who advised him, might think it was for our *country's good*; and so as the lawyers express it, the *King* was deceived in this grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am sure if *his Majesty* knew that such a patent, if it should take effect according to the desire of Mr. Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given such great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps shew his displeasure to *some body or other*: but a *word to the wise is enough*. Most of you must have heard with what anger our *honourable house of Commons* received an account of this Wood's patent. There were several *fine speeches* made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom to the top*; and several smart votes were printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in *print*, and in so confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This Wood, as soon as his *patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *barrels of those halfpence* to Cork, and other sea-port towns, and to get them off offered an *hundred pounds* in his coin for *seventy or eighty* in silver: but the *collectors* of the *King's* customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the parliament hath condemned them, and desired the *King* that they might be stopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But Wood is still working underhand to force his *halfpence* upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in England, prevail so far as to get an order, that the *commissioners* and *collectors* of the *King's* money shall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks his work shall

shall be done. And this is the difficulty you will be under in such a case: for the common soldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *alehouse*, will offer this money; and, if it be refused, perhaps he will *swagger* and *beetor*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *alewife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *halfpence*. In this, and the like cases, the *shopkeeper*, or *viçtualler*, or any other *tradesman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money: for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and so in all things else, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For suppose you go to an *alehouse* with that base money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of those *halfpence*, what must the *viçtualler* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin, or if the *brewer* should be such a fool, the *farmers* will not take it from them for their *bere**, because they are bound by their leases, to pay their rents in good and lawful money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the *'squire*, their landlord, will never be so bewitched to take such *trash* for his land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and where-ever it stops, it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of those *halfpence* is between four and five to an ounce; suppose five, then three shillings and fourpence will weigh a pound, and consequently twenty shillings will weigh six pounds *butter weight*. Now, there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a-year rent; therefore when one of these *farmers* comes with his half-year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at least six hundred pound weight, which is three horses load.

* A sort of barley in Ireland.

If a *Squire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and spices for himself and family, or perhaps to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six horses loaden with *sacks*, as the farmers bring their corn; and when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr. Wood's money. And I hope we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say *Squire Conolly* † hath *sixteen* thousand pounds a year; now, if he sends for his rent to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty *horses* to bring up his half-year's rent, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am assured, that some great *bankers* keep by them forty thousand pounds ready cash to answer all payments: which sum, in Mr. Wood's money, would require twelve hundred horses to carry it.

For my own part, I am already resolved what to do: I have a pretty good shop of Irish stuffs and *silks*, and, instead of taking Mr. Wood's bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the *butchers*, and *bakers*, and *brewers*, and the rest, goods for goods; and the little *gold* and *silver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. Wood's money, as my father did the brass-money in King James's time, who would buy ten pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *pistole*, and so purchase bread from those who will be such fools as to sell it me.

These *halfpence*, if they once pass, will soon be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply done, the stuff is so base. The Dutch likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to

† Then Speaker of the House of Commons,

pay for our *goods*; and Mr. Wood will never be at rest, but coin on; so that in some years we shall have at least five times 108,000 l. of this *lumber*. Now, the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thousand pounds in all; and while there is a *silver* fixpence left, these *bloodsuckers* will never be quiet.

When once the kingdom is reduced to such a condition, I will tell you what must be the end: the *gentlemen of estates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments; because, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leases to pay *Sterling*, which is lawful current money of England: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them *do already*; run all into sheep, where they can, keeping only such other cattle as are necessary; then they will be their own *merchants*, and send their *wool*, and *butter*, and *hides*, and *linen*, beyond sea for ready money, and *wine*, and *spices*, and *silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *cottagers*; the *farmers* must *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country; the *shopkeepers* in this and every other town must *break* and *starve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *shopkeeper*, and *handicraftsman*.

But when the *'squire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himself, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for England, and keep some poor *tailor* or *weaver* and the like in his own house, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *foolish* and *wicked* as to take this cursed coin. It would be very hard, if all Ireland should be put into one *scale*, and this forrow fellow Wood into the other; that Mr. Wood should weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their *pockets*,

acts; and that is more than the English do by all the world besides.

But your great comfort is, that as his Majesty's patent doth not oblige you to take this money, so the laws have not given the crown a power of forcing the subject to take what money the King pleases; for then, by the same reason, we might be bound to take pebble-stones, or cockle-shells, or stamped leather, for current coin, if ever we should happen to live under an ill prince, who might likewise, by the same power, make a guinea pass for ten pounds, a shilling for twenty shillings, and so on; by which he would, in a short time, get all the silver and gold of the kingdom into his own hands, and leave us nothing but brass or leather, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more cruel and oppressive in the French government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher value; which, however, is not the thousandth part so wicked as this abominable project of Mr. Wood. For the French give their subjects silver for silver, and gold for gold; but this fellow will not so much as give us good brass or copper for our gold and silver, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having said thus much, I will now go on to tell you the judgement of some great lawyers in this matter; whom I fee'd on purpose for your sakes, and got their opinions under their hands, that I might be sure I went upon good grounds.

“ A famous law-book, called the *Mirroure of justice*, discoursing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our ancient kings, declares the law to be as follows. It was ordained, That no king of this realm should change or impair the money, or make any other money than of gold or silver, without the assent of all the counties; that is, as

“ my

" my Lord Coke * says, without the assent of parliament."

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer my Lord Coke †. By the laws of England several metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *false metal*; the former comprehends *silver* or *gold*, the later all *baser metals*. That the former is only to pass in payments, appears by an act of parliament ‡ made the twentieth year of Edward the First, called, *The statute concerning the passing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into English; for some of our laws at that time were, as I am told, written in Latin: " Whoever in buying or selling presumes to refuse " an halfpenny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the stamp which it ought to have, let him be " seized on as a contemner of the King's Majesty, " and cast into prison."

By this *statute*, no person is to be reckoned a contemner of the *King's Majesty*, and for that crime to be committed to *prison*, but he who refuseth to accept the King's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I observed before, *silver* and *gold* only are intended.

That this is the true construction of the act, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my Lord Coke's || observation upon it. By this act (says he) it appears, that no subject can be forced to take in *buying*, or *selling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *silver* or *gold*.

The law of England gives the King all mines of *gold* and *silver*; but not the mines of other metals;

* 1 Inst. 576.

† 2 Inst. 576, 7.

‡ 2 Inst. 577.

|| 2 Inst. 577.

the reason of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my Lord Coke *, is because money can be made of *gold* and *silver*, but not of other *metals*.

Pursuant to this opinion, *halfpence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *silver*, which is evident from the act of parliament of Henry the Fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: "Item, for the great scarcity that is at present within the realm of *England* of *halfpence* and *farthings* of *silver*, it is ordained and established, that the third part of all the *money* of *silver-plate* which shall be brought to the *bullion*, shall be made into *halfpence* and *farthings*." This shews, that by the words *halfpenny* and *farthings* of lawful money in that *statute* concerning the passing of pence, is meant a small coin in *halfpence* and *farthings* of *silver*.

This is further manifest from the statute of the ninth year of Edward the Third, chap. 3. which enacts, "That no Sterling *halfpenny* or *farthing* be molten for to make vessels, or any other thing by the *goldsmiths*, nor others, upon the forfeiture of the money so molten (or melted)."

By another act in this king's reign, *black money* was not to be current in England. And by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley-halfpence* were not to pass: what kind of coin these were, I do not know; but I presume they were made of *base metal*. And these acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* stands in relation to *coin*. Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in Davis's reports, who tells us, that, in the time of Tyrope's rebellion, Queen Elisabeth ordered *money* of *mixed metal* to be coined in the Tower of Lon-

* 2 Inst. 577.

don, and sent over hither for the payment of the army, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding that all silver money should be taken only as *bullion*; that is, for as much as it weighed. Davis tells us several particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *privy council* of this kingdom obliged a merchant in England to receive this *mixed money* for goods transmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the best lawyers, as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having no such legal power. And, besides, it is to be considered, that the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this kingdom assisted from Spain; and whatever is done in great exigencies and dangerous times, should never be an example to proceed by in seasons of *peace* and *quietness*.

I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short, what the law obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *silver*.

Secondly, You are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *silver*; not only the *halfpence* or *farthings* of England, but of any other country. And it is merly for convenience, or ease, that you are content to take them; because the custom of coining silver *halfpence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose on account of their being subject to be lost.

Thirdly, Much less are we obliged to take those *vile halfpence* of that same Wood, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling.

Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all: refuse this filthy trash. It is no treason to rebel a-

gainst Mr. Wood. His *Majesty*, in his patent, obliges no body to take these halfpence: our gracious prince hath no such ill advisers about him; or, if he had, yet you see, the laws have not left it in the *King's* power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard, *gold* and *silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me, in the next place, apply myself particularly to you, who are the poorer sort of *tradesmen*. Perhaps you may think, you will not be so great losers as the rich, if these *halfpence* should pass; because you seldom see any *silver*, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but *brass*, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these halfpence to a shop for *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave *the key under the door*. "Do you think I will sell you a yard of tenpenny stuff for *twenty* of Mr. Wood's *halfpence*? No, not under *two hundred* at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump." I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our *beggars*; for when I give a beggar a halfpenny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a halfpenny will do him no more service, than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve.

In short these halfpence are like the *accursed thing*, which, as the *scripture* tells us, the children of Israel were forbidden to touch. They will run about "like the plague, and destroy every one who lays his hands upon them." I have heard *scholars* talk of a man who told the King, that he had invented a way to torment people, by putting them
into

into a *bull of brass* with fire under it : but the prince put the *projector* first into his *brazen bull* to make the experiment. This very much resembles the project of Mr. Wood ; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. Wood's fate ; that the *brass* he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by persons who have made it their business to be exact in their observations on the true value of these halfpence, that any person may expect to get a quart of *twopenny ale* for *thirty-six* of them.

I desire that all *families* may keep this paper carefully by them to refresh their memories, whenever they shall have farther notice of Mr. Wood's halfpence, or any other the like imposture *.

* At the sound of the *Drapier's* trumpet, a spirit arose among the people, that, in the eastern phrase, was *like unto a tempest in the day of the whirlwind*. Every person of every rank, party, and denomination, was convinced, that the admission of Wood's copper must prove fatal to the commonwealth. The Papist, the Fanatic, the Tory, the Whig, all lifted themselves volunteers under the banner of *M. B. Drapier*, and were all equally zealous to serve the common cause. Much heat, and many fiery speeches against the administration, were the consequence of this union : nor had the flames been allayed, notwithstanding threats and proclamations, had not the coin been totally suppressed, and had not Wood withdrawn his patent. *Orrery*. See the note at the end of letter 5.





L E T T E R II.

A LETTER to Mr. HARDING the printer, upon occasion of a paragraph in his newspaper of August 1. 1724, relating to Mr. Wood's *Halfpence*.

IN your news-letter of the 1st instant there is a paragraph, dated from London, July 25. relating to Wood's halfpence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *letter to the shopkeepers, &c.* that this vile fellow would never be at rest; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires *new* and *fresh* warning. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great measure, an imposition upon the public; at least I hope so, because I am informed that Wood is generally his own news-writer. I cannot but observe from that paragraph, that this public enemy of ours, not satisfied to ruin us with his *trash*, takes every occasion to treat this kingdom with the utmost contempt. He represents "several of our merchants and traders upon examination before a committee of council, agreeing, that there was the utmost necessity of copper-money here, before his patent; so that several gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards sealed and subscribed with their names." What then? If a physician prescribe to a patient a *dram* of physic, shall a rascal apothecary cram him with a *pound*, and mix it up with *poison*? and is not a landlord's hand and seal to his own labourers a better security for five or ten shillings, than Wood's brass, ten times below

low the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thousand pounds?

But who are these *merchants and traders* of Ireland that made this report of "the utmost necessity we are under for copper-money?" They are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with Wood, from whom they are to purchase a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the ruin of the public, and their own private advantages. Are not these excellent witnesses, upon whose integrity the fate of the kingdom must depend, evidences in their own cause, and sharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deserved the liberty of coining for ourselves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, *is every body's wonder as well as mine*, ten thousand pounds might have been coined here in Dublin of only one fifth below the intrinsic value, and this sum, with the stock of halfpence we then had, would have been sufficient; but Wood, by his emissaries, enemies to God and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old halfpence as he could; and from thence the present want of change arises; to remove which, by Mr. Wood's remedy, would be to cure a scratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But supposing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thousand pounds would be a sum fully sufficient to answer all our occasions. I am no inconsiderable shopkeeper in this town; I have discoursed with several of my own; and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and also with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two shillings in change for every family would be more than necessary in all dealings. Now, by the largest computation (even before that grievous

discouragement of *agriculture* *, which hath so much lessened our numbers) the souls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half: which, allowing six to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thousand families, and consequently two shillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thousand pounds; whereas this *honest, liberal, hardwareman*, Wood, would impose upon us above *four times* that sum.

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir Isaac Newton reported an *assay* taken at the Tower of Wood's metal; by which it appears, that Wood had in *all respects performed his contract*. His contract! with whom? was it with the parliament or people of Ireland? are not they to be the purchasers? but they detest, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impose his goods upon us by force.

But your news-letter says, that an *assay* was made of the coin. How impudent and insupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good metal, sends them to the Tower, and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already coined, or shall coin for the future. It is true indeed, that a gentleman often sends to my shop for a pattern of stuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or sends, and compares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether, fat and well fleeced, by way of *pattern*, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good security to restore my money for what were *lean*, or *shorn*, or *scabby*, I would be none of his customer. I have

* Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing.

heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of *brick* in his pocket, which he shewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with Mr. Wood's *assay*.

The next part of the paragraph contains Mr. Wood's voluntary proposals for *preventing any further objections or apprehensions*.

His first proposal is, "That whereas he hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and has copper prepared to make it up forty thousand pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unless the EXIGENCIES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his patent impowers him to coin a far greater quantity."

To which if I were to answer, it should be thus: Let Mr. Wood and his crew of *founders* and *tinkers* coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe-clay, or the dirt in the street, and call their trumpery by what name they please, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themselves. But I hope, and trust, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

The King has given him a patent to coin halfpence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already shewn in my *letter to the shopkeepers, &c.* that the law hath not left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the subject to take any money, besides gold and silver of the right sterling and standard.

Wood further proposes, (if I understand him right, for his expressions are dubious), that "he will not coin above forty thousand pounds, unless the exigencies of trade require it." First, I observe that this sum of *forty thousand pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole

whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I ask, who is to be judge when the "exigencies of trade require it?" Without doubt he means *himself*; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if this project should succeed, we were never *once* consulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigencies* by his own; neither will these be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices shall think they have enough: And it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and silver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the same coin.

I shall not enter into examination of the prices for which he now proposes to sell his halfpence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have said enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewise been considered by others. It is certain, that by his own first computation we were to pay three shillings for what was intrinsically worth but one, altho' it had been of the true weight and standard for which he pretended to have contracted! but there is so great a difference both in weight and badness in several of his coins, that some of them have been nine in ten below the intrinsic value, and most of them six or seven.

His last proposal being of a peculiar strain and nature, deserves to be very particularly considered, both on account of the matter and the style. It is as follows.

"Lastly, In consideration of the direful apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will by such coinage drain them of their gold and silver; he proposes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no person be obliged to receive more than five pence halfpenny at one payment."

First,

First, Observe this little impudent *hardwareman* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehensions of a whole kingdom*, priding himself as the cause of them, and daring to prescribe (what no king of England ever attempted) how far a whole nation shall be obliged to take his brass coin. And he has reason to insult: for sure there never was an example in history of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter destruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thousand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt administration, but by one single, diminutive, insignificant mechanic.

But to go on: To remove our *direful apprehensions, that he will drain us of our gold and silver by his coinage*, this little arbitrary *mock-monarch* most graciously offers to take our *manufactures in exchange*. Are our Irish understandings indeed so low in his opinion? Is not this the very misery we complain of, that his cursed project will put us under the necessity of selling our goods for what is equal to nothing? How would such a proposal sound from France or Spain, or any other country with which we traffic, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we should take their money at ten times higher than the intrinsic value? Does Mr. Wood think, for instance, that we will sell him a stone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth sixpence, when we can send it to England, and receive as many shillings in *gold and silver*? Surely there was never heard such a compound of impudence, villainy, and folly.

His proposals conclude with perfect *high-treason*. He promises, that *no person shall be obliged to receive more than five pence halfpenny of his coin in one payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to oblige every subject in this kingdom to take so much in every payment, if it be offered; whereas his
patent

patent obliges no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim such a power, as I have often observed; so that here Mr. Wood takes upon him the *entire legislature*, and an absolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are are this wretch's *advisers*? who are his *supporters, abettors, encouragers, or sbarers*? Mr. Wood will oblige me to take five pence halfpenny of his brass in every payment. And I will shoot Mr. Wood and his deputies through the head like *highwaymen* or *house-breakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loss of honour to submit to the *lion*; but who, with the figure of a *man*, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a *rat*? He has laid a tax upon the people of Ireland of seventeen shillings at least in the pound: a tax, I say, not only upon lands, but interest-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftsmen, labourers, and servants. Shopkeepers, look to yourselves! Wood will oblige and force you to take five pence halfpenny of his trash in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or else you can hardly find bread: and pray consider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five pence halfpenny is nine shillings and two pence, which is above a hundred and sixty pounds a-year, wherein you will be losers of at least one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. Wood on such conditions, they may; but for my own particular, *let his money perish with him*. If the famous Mr. Hambden rather chose to go to prison, than pay a few shillings to King Charles I. without authority of parliament; I will rather chuse to be *hanged* than have all my substance taxed at seventeen shillings in the pound at the arbitrary will and pleasure of the venerable Mr. Wood.

The

The paragraph concludes thus : " N. B. (*that is to say, nota bene, or mark well*). No evidence appeared from Ireland, or elsewhere, to prove the mischiefs complained of, or any abuses whatsoever committed in the execution of the said grant."

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. First, the house of Commons in Ireland, which represents the whole people of the kingdom; and secondly, the privy council addressed his Majesty against these halfpence : what could be done more to express the universal sense of the nation ? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely against it, would not that be sufficient to reject it ? Must a committee of the whole House of Commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr. Wood ? To what end did the King give his patent for coining halfpence in Ireland ? Was it not, because it was represented to his Sacred Majesty, that such a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his subjects here ? It is to the patentee's peril, if his representation be false, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think, that this patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or four score thousand pounds to himself ? Before he was at the charge of passing a patent, much more of raking up so much filthy dross, and stamping it with his Majesty's *image and superscription*, should he not first in common sense, in common equity, and common manners, have consulted the principal party concerned ; that is to say, the people of the kingdom, the House of Lords, or Commons, or the privy-council ? If any foreigner should ask us, *whose image and subscription there is on Wood's coin* ? we should be ashamed to tell him, it was Cæsar's. In that great want of copper halfpence,

which

which he alledges we were, our city set up *our* Cæsar's * statue in excellent copper, at an expence that is equal in value to thirty thousand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worse metal.

I observe many of our people putting a melancholly case on this subject. It is true, say they, we are all undone if Wood's halfpence must pass: but what shall we do if his Majesty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath been often dinned in my ears. But I desire my countrymen to be assured that there is nothing in it. The king never issues out a proclamation but to injoin what the law permits him. He will not issue out a proclamation against *law*; or if such a thing should happen by a mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Besides, his Majesty will never command us by a proclamation, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itself. There he leaves it to our discretion; so that our destruction must be entirely owing to ourselves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a proclamation, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet upon this occasion will be of no force. The King's revenues here are near four hundred thousand pounds a-year. Can you think his ministers will advise him to take them in Wood's brass, which will reduce the value to fifty thousand pounds? England gets a million *Sterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almost reduced to nothing: and do you think those who live in England upon Irish estates, will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in Wood's dross?

If Wood and his *confederates* were not convinced of our stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an enterprise. He now sees

* An equestrian statue of George I. at Essex-bridge, Dublin.

a spirit hath been raised against him, and he only watches till it begins to flag : he goes about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him ; and at last out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with opposition, we shall be forced to yield : and therefore, I confess, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your spirits and resentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks ; if I point to it before your eyes, must I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning ? Are our people's *hearts waxed gross* ? are *their ears dull of hearing* ? and have *they closed their eyes* ? I fear there are some few vipers among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would sell their souls and their country ; although at last it should end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder, who refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely*.

Although my letter may be directed to you, Mr. Harding, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no interest in this affair, but what is common to the public. I can live better than many others : I have some gold and silver by me, and a shop well furnished ; and I shall be able to make a shift, when many of my betters are starving. But I am grieved to see the coldness and indifference of many people, with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a proclamation : others shrug up their shoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do ? Some give out, there is no danger at all ; others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they shall fare no worse than their neighbours. Will a man who hears midnight-robbers at his door, get out of bed and raise his family for a common defence ; and shall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr. Wood comes at the head of his confederates to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and

our posterity for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to save your life; but God be thanked, Mr. Wood cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your side; when he or his accomplices offer you his dross, it is but saying No, and you are safe. If a madman should come into my shop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of stuff, I would pity or laugh at him; or if his behaviour deserved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr. Wood comes to demand my gold and silver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and silver, in exchange for his trash, can he deserve, or expect better treatment?

When the evil day is come, (if it must come), let us mark and observe those who presume to offer these halfpence in payment. Let their names, and trades, and places of abode, be made public, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr. Wood. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the first honest discoverer give the word about, that Mr. Wood's halfpence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to say all that this melancholy subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one proposal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this destructive project at once. Let some skilful, judicious pen draw up an advertisement to the following purpose.

“Whereas one William Wood, hardwareman,
 “now or lately sojourning in the city of London,
 “hath, by many misrepresentations, procured a
 “patent for coining an hundred and eight thousand pounds in copper halfpence for this kingdom; which is a sum five times greater than our
 “occasions

“ occasions require : And whereas it is notorious,
 “ that the said Wood hath coined his halfpence of
 “ such base metal, and false weight, that they are
 “ at least six parts in seven below the real value :
 “ and whereas we have reason to apprehend, that
 “ the said Wood may at any time hereafter clan-
 “ destinely coin as many more halfpence as he
 “ pleases : and whereas the said patent neither
 “ doth, nor can oblige his Majesty's subjects to re-
 “ ceive the said halfpence in any payment, but
 “ leaves it to their voluntary choice : because by
 “ law the subject cannot be obliged to take any
 “ money, *except gold and silver* : and whereas,
 “ contrary to the letter and meaning of the said
 “ patent, the said Wood hath declared, that every
 “ person shall be obliged to take five pence half-
 “ penny of his coin in every payment : And
 “ whereas the House of Commons and privy-council
 “ have severally addressed his Most Sacred Majesty,
 “ representing the ill consequences which the said
 “ coinage may have upon this kingdom : And, lastly,
 “ whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole
 “ nation to a man (except Mr. Wood, and his confederates) are in the utmost apprehension of the ruinous consequences that must follow from the said coinage ; therefore we, whose names are underwritten, being persons of considerable estates in this kingdom, and residing therein, do unanimously resolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or halfpenny of the said Wood's coining ; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuse the said coin from any person whatsoever ; of which that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a copy of this *advertisement* to be read to them by our stewards, receivers,” &c.

I could wish, that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and signed by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom ; and printed

copies thereof sent to their several tenants. I am deceived if any thing could sooner defeat this execrable design of Wood. This would immediately give the alarm, and set the kingdom on their guard; this would give courage to the meanest tenant and cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true, &c.*

I must tell you in particular, Mr. Harding, that you are much to blame. Several hundred persons have inquired at your house for my *letter to the shopkeepers, &c.* and you had none to sell them. Pray keep yourself provided with that letter, and with this: you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every newspaper; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I desire you likewise to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your servant,

M. B.

Aug. 4. 1724.

LET.



LETTER III.

Some OBSERVATIONS upon a paper called, *The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy Council of England, relating to Wood's halfpence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom of Ireland.

HAVING already written two letters to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very pressing occasion for writing a *third*; I thought I could not more properly address it than to your *Lordships* and *Worships*.

The occasion is this: A printed paper was sent to me on the 18th instant, intitled, "A report of the committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council in England; relating to Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings." There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I suppose it to have been in Dublin: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the Gazette, but in the London Journal, or some other print of no authority or consequence. And, for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to *fright* us; or a *project* of some printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publishing something upon a subject which now employs all our thoughts in this kingdom. Mr. Wood, in publishing this paper, would insinuate to the world, as if the *committee* had a greater concern for his credit and private emolument, than

for the honour of the *privy-council*, and both *houses of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it seems intended a vindication of Mr. Wood, not without several severe reflections on the houses of *Lords* and *Commons* of Ireland.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a dispute between William Wood, on the one part, and the *lords justices, privy-council*, and both *houses of parliament*, on the other; the design of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other side with casting rash and groundless aspersions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr. Wood hath treated the committee with great rudeness, by publishing an act of theirs in so unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the *government* and *privy-council* of Ireland, to whom the committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in England is hitherto a law in either kingdom; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains disputable by every subject.

This (may it please your *Lordships* and *Worships*) may seem a strange way of discoursing in an illiterate shopkeeper. I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that small portion of reason God hath been pleased to give me; and when reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for instance, if any lawyer should tell me that such a point were law, from which many gross palpable absurdities must follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir Edward Coke should positively assert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary), that a limited prince could by prerogative oblige his subjects to take half an ounce of lead, stamped with his image, for twenty shillings in gold,

gold, I should swear he was deceived, or a deceiver; because a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what Wood hath advanced in some of his papers, and what suspicious people may possibly apprehend from some passages in that which is called the *report*.

That paper mentions "such persons to have been examined, who were desirous and willing to be heard upon this subject." I am told they were four in all; Coleby, B —, Mr. Finley the banker, and one more, whose name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the treasury in Ireland: and though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every person in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, since I have gone so far as to mention particular persons, it may be some satisfaction to know who is this Wood himself, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almost two years together. I find he is in the patent intitled *Esquire*, although he were understood to be only a *hardwareman*; and so I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a 'Squire he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropshire; where pretending to have been robbed, and suing the county, he was cast, and for the infamy of the fact lost his employment.

I have heard another story of this 'Squire Wood from a very honourable lady, that one Hamilton told her. Hamilton was sent for six years ago by Sir Isaac Newton to try the coinage of four men, who then solicited a patent for coining halfpence for Ireland; their names were Wood, Costor, Eliston, and Parker. Parker made the fairest offer, and Wood the worst; for his coin were three halfpence in a pound-weight less value than the other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he solicited

cited his patent ; but not so plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the said paper called the *report*, that upon repeated orders from a secretary of state for sending over such papers and witnesses as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent, (by both houses of parliament), the Lord Lieutenant represented " the great difficulty he found himself in, to comply with these orders : that none of the principal members of both houses who were in the King's service or council, would take upon them to advise, how any material person, or papers, might be sent over on this occasion," &c. And this is often repeated, and represented as " a proceeding that seems very extraordinary, and that in a matter which had raised so great a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland ; especially that the chief difficulty should arise from a general apprehension of a miscarriage, in an inquiry before his Majesty, or in a proceeding by due course of law, in a case where both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon evidence, and examinations taken in the most solemn manner."

How shall I, a poor ignorant shopkeeper, utterly unskilled in law, be able to answer so weighty an objection ? I will try what can be done by plain reason, unassisted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion, the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole case, by calling the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland an universal clamour. Here the addresses of the Lords and Commons of Ireland against a ruinous, destructive project of an obscure, single undertaker, is called a *clamour*. I desire to know, how such a style would be resented in England
from

from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many impeachments would follow upon it? But supposing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise minister, who despised the universal clamour of a people; and if that clamour can be quieted by disappointing the fraudulent practice of a single person, the purchase is not exorbitant.

But in answer to this objection first, it is manifest, that if this coinage had been in Ireland, with such limitations as have been formerly specified in other patents and granted to persons of this kingdom, or even of England, able to give sufficient security, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr. Knox's patent mentioned in the *report*, security was given in to the exchequer, that the *patentee* should upon all demands be obliged to receive his *halfpence* back, and pay gold or silver in exchange for them. And Mr. Moor (to whom I suppose that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year, by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same reason. This entirely alters the case; for there is no such condition in Wood's patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatsoever.

Put the case, that the two houses of *Lords* and *Commons* of England, and the *privy council* there, should address his Majesty to recall a patent, from whence they apprehended the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom; and to make it stronger if possible, that the whole nation almost to a man should thereupon discover the most dismal apprehensions, (as Mr. Wood stiles them); would his Majesty debate half an hour what he had to do? would any minister dare advise him against recalling such a patent? or would the matter be referred to the

the privy council, or to Westminster-hall; the two houses of parliament plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? and is there even the smallest difference between the two cases?

Were not the people of Ireland born as free as those of England? how have they forfeited their freedom? is not their parliament as fair a representative of the people as that of England; and hath not their privy council as great, or a greater share in the administration of public affairs? are not they subjects of the same King? does not the same sunshine upon them? and have they not the same God for their protector? am I a freeman in England, and do I become a slave in six hours by crossing the channel? No wonder then if the boldest persons were cautious to interpose in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation; or to presume to represent the representatives of the kingdom; and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a treatment as they would deserve at the next session. It would seem very extraordinary, if an inferior court in England should take a matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a prorogation, and decide it against the opinion of both houses.

It happens however, that although no persons were so bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made against this patent by the high court of parliament here, yet these objections stand good, notwithstanding the answers made by Mr. Wood and his council.

The report says, that, "upon an assay made of the fineness, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in every article." This is possible enough in the pieces upon which the assay was made: but Wood must have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a sufficient quantity of such *halfpence* as would bear the

the trial; which he was well able to do, altho' *they were taken out of several parcels*; since it is now plain, that the bias of favour hath been wholly on his side.

But what need is there of disputing, when we have a positive demonstration of Wood's fraudulent practices in this point? I have seen a large quantity of these *halfpence* weighed by a very skilful person, which were of four different kinds, three of them considerably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between these four sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and in the whole the public will be a loser of eighty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds sixteen shillings, even supposing the metal in point of goodness to answer Wood's contract, and the *assay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewise been inquired into by very experienced men; who, upon several trials on many of these halfpence, have found them to be at least one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his accomplices, have already made of his own coin, and scattered about. Now, the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lightest sort of his halfpence, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thousand four hundred eighty-eight pounds sixteen shillings; and, if we subtract a fourth part of the real value by the *base mixture* in the metal, we must add to the public loss one fourth part to be subtracted from the intrinsic value of the copper; which in three hundred and sixty tons amounts to ten thousand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the
former

former sum of eighty-two thousand one hundred sixty-eight pounds sixteen shillings, will make in all ninety-two thousand two hundred forty-eight pounds loss to the public; besides the raps or counterfeits that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *drift* exclusive or inclusive with his three hundred and sixty tons of copper; which however will make a considerable difference in the account.

You will here please to observe, that the profit allowed to Wood by the patent is twelve pence out of every pound of copper, valued at one shilling and sixpence, whereas five pence only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the English halfpence; and this difference is almost 25 *per cent.* which is double to the highest exchange of money, even under all the additional pressures and obstructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at present. This one circumstance, in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty pounds between English and Irish halfpence; even allowing those of Wood to be all of the heaviest sort.

It is likewise to be considered, that for every halfpenny in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, sixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers easy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that these halfpence far exceed the like coinage for Ireland in the reigns of his Majesty's predecessors; there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true: which however is altogether mistaken, not by any fault in the committee, but by the

the fraud and imposition of Wood, who certainly produced the worst patterns he could find ; such as were coined in small numbers by *permissions to private men*, as *butchers halfpence black-dogs*, and others the like ; or perhaps the small St. Patrick's coin, which passeth now for a farthing, or at best some of the smallest *raps* of the latest kind. For I have now by me *halfpence* coined in the year 1680 by virtue of the patent granted to my Lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox, and they are heavier by a ninth part than those of Wood, and of much better metal ; and the great St. Patrick's *halfpence* are yet larger than ei her.

But what is all this to the present debate : if, under the various exigencies of former times, by wars, rebellions, and insurrections, the kings of England were sometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixed or base money ? God forbid that the necessities of turbulent times should be a precedent for times of peace, and order and settlement.

In the patent above mentioned, granted to Lord Dartmouth in the reign of King Charles II. and renewed to Knox, the securities given in to the exchequer, obliging the *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy against all inconveniencies : and the *copper was coined in our kingdom* ; so that we were in no danger to purchase it with the loss of all our silver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to England for the redressing of any abuse.

That the kings of England have exercised their prerogative of coining copper for Ireland and for England, is not the present question : but, to speak in the stile of the *report*, it would seem a little extraordinary, supposing a king should think fit to exercise his *prerogative* by coining copper in Ireland to be current in England, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reasonable, and whether

the people desired it or no, and without regard to the addresses of his parliament against it. God forbid that so mean a man as I should meddle with the King's *prerogative*: but I have heard very wise men say, that the King's prerogative is bounded and limited by the good and welfare of his people. I desire to know, whether it be not understood and avowed, that the good of Ireland was intended by this *patent*? But Ireland is not consulted at all in the matter; and, as soon as Ireland is informed of it, *they* declared against it: The two houses of parliament and the privy council address his Majesty upon the mischiefs apprehended by such a patent; the privy council in England take the matter out of the parliament's cognisance; the good of the kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr. Wood shall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can suppose, that such patents as these were originally granted with a view of being a *job* for the interest of a particular person to the damage of the public. Whatever profit must arise to the *patentee*, was surely meant at best but as a secondary motive; and since somebody must be a gainer, the choice of the person was made either by favour or *something else*, or by the pretence of merit and honesty: this argument returns so often and so strongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his Majesty, when he consented to the passing of this *patent*, conceived he was doing an act of grace to his most loyal subjects of Ireland, without any regard to Mr. Wood, farther than as an *instrument*; but the people of Ireland think this *patent* (intended, no doubt for their good) to be a most intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr. Wood can never succeed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred not only before the interest, but the very safety and being of a great kingdom; and a kingdom distinguished for

its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth: not turned from its duty by the "jurisdiction of the house of Lords abolished at a stroke, by the hardships of the act of navigation newly enforced, by all possible obstructions in trade," and by a hundred other instances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the least attempt towards an insurrection in favours of the *pretender*. Therefore, whatever justice a free people can claim, we have at least an equal title to it with our brethren in England; and whatever grace a good prince can bestow on the most *loyal subjects*, we have reason to expect it; neither has this kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one *single, rapacious, obscure, ignominious projector*.

Among other clauses mentioned in this *patent* to shew how advantageous it is to Ireland, there is one which seems to be of a singular nature: that the *patentee* shall be obliged, during his term "to pay eight hundred pounds a-year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a-year to the comptroller." I have heard indeed, that the King's council do always consider in the passing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewise heard, that it is at the same considered, whether passing of it may be injurious to any other persons or bodies politic? However, although the *attorney* and *solicitor* be servants to the King, and therefore bound to consult his Majesty's interest; yet I am under some doubt, whether eight hundred pounds a-year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid 8000 pounds a-year into his Majesty's coffers in the midst of all our taxes, (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in England, even during the war), than purchase such an addition to the revenue at the price of our *utter undoing*.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thousand pounds are to be paid by Wood only as a *small, circumstantial* charge for the purchase of his *patent*: what were his other *visible costs* I know not; and what were his *latent*, is variously conjectured; but he must be surely a man of some wonderful merit. Hath he saved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of reimbursing himself by the *destruction* of ours? Hath he discovered the longitude, or the universal medicine? No; but he hath found the *philosopher's stone* after a new manner, by debasing of copper, and resolving to force it upon us for gold.

When the two houses represented to his Majesty, that this "patent to Wood was obtained in a clandestine manner," surely the committee could not think the parliament would insinuate, that it had not passed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquisites were due. They know very well, that persons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed, it was a secret to him; and who will doubt of his veracity, especially when he swore to a person of quality, from whom I had it, that Ireland should never be troubled with these halfpence. It was a secret to the people of Ireland, who were to be the only sufferers; and those who best know the state of the kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an affair, were wholly strangers to it.

It is allowed by the *report*, that this *patent* was passed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of Ireland: and it is there elaborately shewn, that "former patents have passed in the same manner, and are good in law." I shall not dispute the legality of patents, but am ready to

* Duke of Grafton.

suppose it in his Majesty's power to grant a patent for stamping round bits of copper to every subject he hath. Therefore, to lay aside the point of law, I would only put the question, whether in reason and justice it would not have been proper in an affair upon which the "welfare of the kingdom depends," that the said kingdom should have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the patentee and the officers of the crown, who were to be the only gainers by it.

The parliament, who in matters of this nature are the most able and faithful counsellors, did represent this grant to be "destructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people:" to which the only answer is, That "the King hath a prerogative to make such a grant."

It is asserted, That in the patent to Knox his "halfpence are made and declared the current coin of the kingdom;" whereas, in this to Wood, there is only a "power given to issue them to such as will receive them." The authors of the report, I think, do not affirm, that the King can, by law, declare *any thing* to be current money by his letters patents. I dare say they will not affirm it; and if Knox's patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his Majesty's "just and merciful reign?" But although that clause be not in Wood's patent, yet possibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that whereby "a power is given to William Wood to break into houses in search of any coin made in imitation of his." This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the subject; yet this is a precedent taken from Knox's patent, where the same power is granted; and is a strong instance, what uses may be sometimes made of precedents.

But although, before the passing of this patent,

it was not thought necessary to consult any persons of this kingdom, or make the least inquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us ; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long passed, when Wood hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin *six times* as much more, the committee hath been pleased to make this affair the subject of inquiry ; Wood is permitted to produce his evidences, which consist, as I have already observed, of four in number, whereof Coleby, B——, and Mr. Finley the banker, are three. And these were to prove, that copper money was extremely wanted in Ireland. The first had been out of the kingdom almost twenty years, from the time that he was tried for *robbing the treasury* ; and therefore his knowledge and credibility are equal. Mr. Finley, one of the other witnesses, honestly confessed, that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper money or no ; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a *large discount*, and sell them as well as he could ; by which he hoped to get two or three thousand pounds for himself.

But suppose there were not one single halfpenny of copper coin in this whole kingdom, (which Mr. Wood seems to intend, unless we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emissaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the shilling more than they pass for), it could not be any *real evil* to us, although it might be some *inconvenience*. We have many sorts of small silver coins to which they are strangers in England ; such as the French *three-pences*, *four pence halfpennies*, and *eight pence farthings*, the Scotch *fivepences* and *tenpences* besides, their *twentypences* and *three and four pences*, by which we are able to make change to a halfpenny of almost any piece of gold or silver ; and if we are driven to the expedient of a *sealed card* with the

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little gold and silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but Wood's adulterated copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *patent*, nor HITHERTO *able* by his *estate* to make good.

The report farther tells us, *it must be admitted, that letters patents, under the great seal of Great Britain, for coining copper-money for Ireland, are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of his Majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of his subjects of Ireland.* First, we desire to know, why his Majesty's *prerogative* might not have been as well asserted by passing this patent in Ireland, and subjecting the several conditions of the contract to the inspection of those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, since the mixed money in Queen Elisabeth's time during the difficulties of a rebellion; whereas now, upon the greatest imposition that can possibly be practised, we must go to England with our complaints; where it hath been for some time the fashion to think, and to affirm, *that we cannot be too hardly used.* Again; the report says, *that such patents are obligatory.* After long thinking, I am not able to find out, what can possibly be meant here by this word *obligatory*. The patent of Wood neither obligeth him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no patent can *oblige* the subject against law; unless an illegal patent passed in *one* kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

Lastly, it is added, that "such patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of the King's subjects of Ireland." If this proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expressed or implied, it must follow, that a king of England may at any time

time coin copper money for Ireland, and oblige his subjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practised by the late King James; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuse from the necessity and exigencies of his affairs. If this be in no manner "derogatory, nor invasive of any liberties or privileges of the subjects of Ireland," it ought to have been expressed what our *liberties* and *privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for in specifying the word *Ireland*, instead of saying his *Majesty's subjects*, it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same foot with our fellow-subjects in England; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted; for I do not understand that *Poining's* act deprived us of our *liberty*, but only *changed the manner* of passing laws here, (which however was a power most indirectly obtained), by leaving the negative to the two houses of parliament. But waving all controversies relating to the legislature, no person, I believe, was ever yet so bold as to affirm, that the people of Ireland have not the same title to the benefits of the *common law* with the rest of his Majesty's subjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by *common law*, we of Ireland have the same; so that, in my humble opinion, the word *Ireland* standing in that proposition was, in the mildest interpretation, a *lapse of the pen*.

The report farther asserts, that "the precedents
 " are many, wherein cases of great importance to
 " Ireland, and which immediately affected the in-
 " terests of that kingdom, such as warrants, or-
 " ders, and directions by the authority of the King
 " and his predecessors, have been issued under the
 " royal sign-manual without any previous reference
 " or advice of his Majesty's officers of Ireland,
 " which have always had their due force, and have
 " been

"been punctually complied with and obeyed." It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because it may prove an eternal source of discontent. However, among all these *precedents*, there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of *precedents*. If a job is to be done, and upon searching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to justify the legality of it by producing his *precedents*, without ever considering the motives and circumstances that first introduced them; the necessity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of ministers, or the arbitrary disposition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by persons eminent in the law, that the worst actions which human nature is capable of, may be justified by the same doctrine. How the first *precedents* began of determining cases of the highest importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its interests, without any previous reference or advice to the King's officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the submission of Tyrone in the last year of Queen Elisabeth's reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various scene of war and peace between the English *pale* and the Irish natives; and the government of that part of this island, which lay in the English hands, was in many things under the immediate administration of the King: silver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at least upon great necessity a mixed or base metal was sent from England. The reign of King James I. was employed in settling the kingdom after Tyrone's rebellion; and this nation flourished extremely till the time of the massacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in Dublin.

By

By all that I can discover, the copper coin of Ireland, for three hundred years past, consisted of small pence and halfpence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and districts, according to the personal credit of the owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have seen many sorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for Ireland, till the reign of King Charles II. which was in the year 1680, to George Legge, Lord Dartmouth; and renewed by King James II. in the first year of his reign (1685) to John Knox. Both patents were passed in Ireland; and in both the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or silver.

The patents both of Lord Dartmouth and Knox were referred to the Attorney-General here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already said, were passed in this kingdom. Knox had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to Lord Dartmouth; the patent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by Roger Moor to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; and upon the report of the attorney and solicitor, that it was not for his Majesty's service, or the interest of the nation, to have it renewed, it was rejected by King William. It should therefore seem very extraordinary, that a patent for coining copper halfpence, intended and professed for the good of the kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a *poor, private, obscure mechanic*; and a patent of such a nature, that as soon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being passed, they cry out unanimously against it as *ruinous and destructive*. The representatives of the nation in parliament, and

and the privy council, address the King to have it recalled; yet the *patentee*, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private interest shall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. St. Paul says, "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient." We are answered, that this patent is lawful: but is it expedient? We read, that the high-priest said, "It was expedient that one man should die for the people;" and this was a most wicked proposition: but that a "whole nation should die for one man," was never heard of before.

But because much weight is laid on the *precedents* of other patents for *coining copper* for Ireland, I will set this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at least could be produced of copper coined for Ireland, by virtue of patents passed in England; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one *precedent* shewn of a patent passed in England for coining copper for Ireland for above an hundred years past; and if there were any before, it must be in times of confusion. The only patents I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned to Lord Dartmouth and Knox, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now, let us compare these patents with that granted to Wood. First, the patent to Knox, which was under the same conditions as that granted to Lord Dartmouth, was passed in Ireland; the government and the *attorney and solicitor general* making report, that it would be useful to this kingdom.

The patent was passed with the advice of the *King's council* here; the *patentee* was obliged to receive his coin from those who thought themselves surcharged, and to give *gold* and *silver* for it. Lastly, the *patentee* was to pay only 16 l. 13 s. 4 d. per

annum

annum to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; first, I find the *halfpence* were *milled*, which, as it is of great use to prevent counterfeits, (and therefore industriously avoided by Wood), so it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and goodness of the metal, I have several *halfpence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than those coined by Wood; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impression is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to some of Wood's, by a *fraud* natural to such *patentees*; but not so immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumstance Mr. Wood must serve for a precedent in future times.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to William Wood. It passed upon very false suggestions of his own and of a few confederates: it passed in England without the least reference hither; it passed unknown to the very Lord Lieutenant, then in England. Wood is empowered to coin one hundred and eight thousand pounds, and all the *officers* in the kingdom (civil and military) are commanded in the report to countenance and assist him. Knox had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged "to receive his coin back again at our demand, and to enter into security for so doing." Wood's halfpence are not *milled*, and therefore more easily counterfeited by *himself*, as well as by others. Wood pays a thousand pounds *per annum* for thirteen years: Knox paid only sixteen pounds fourteen shillings and four pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the *report* that set me the example of making a comparison between those two patents, wherein the *committee* was grossly misled by the false representation of William Wood; as it was by another assertion, that seven hundred tons of copper were

were coined during the twenty-one years of Lord Dartmouth's and Knox's patents. Such a quantity of copper at the rate of two shillings and eight pence *per* pound would amount to about an hundred and ninety thousand pounds; which was very near as much as the current cash of the kingdom in those days; yet, during that period, Ireland was never known to have too much copper coin; and for several years there was no coining at all: besides, I am assured, that, upon inquiring, into the custom-house books, all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the twenty-one (besides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty-seven tons. And we cannot suppose even that small quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage; so that I believe there was never any comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the design for which it was produced.

The psalmist reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he selleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them*. That we have greatly offended God by the wickedness of our lives, is not to be disputed; but our King we have not offended in word or deed; and although he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not punish us for any offences, except those we shall commit against his legal authority, his sacred person (which God preserve), or the laws of the land.

The *report* is very profuse in arguments, that Ireland is in great want of copper-money. Who were the witnesses to prove it, hath been shewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be judges? Does not the nation best know its own wants? Both houses of parliament, the privy-council, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we desire that they may not be supplied by Mr. Wood: we know our own wants but too well; they are many, and grie-

vous to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let England be satisfied: as things go, they will in a short time have all our gold and silver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchase it with our manufactures, which Wood hath graciously offered to accept. Our *wants* are not so bad by a hundred part as the method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tried his faculty in New-England; and I hope he will meet at least with an *equal reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to public intelligence. I am supposing a wild case; that if there should be any person already receiving a monstrous pension out of this kindom, who was instrumental in procuring the *patent*, they have either not well consulted their own interests, or Wood must put more dross into his copper, and still diminish its weight.

Upon Wood's complaint, that the officers of the King's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin; the report says, that "this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding," and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The *committee* say, they "cannot advise his Majesty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the said coin as hath been desired in the addresses of both houses;" but, on the contrary, they "think it both just and reasonable, that the King should immediately give orders to the commissioners of the revenue, &c. to revoke all orders, &c. that may have been given by them to hinder or obstruct the receiving the said coin." And accordingly, we are told, such orders are arrived. Now, this was a cast of Wood's politics; for his information was wholly false and groundless, which he knew very well; and that the commissioners of the revenue here were all, except one, sent us from England, and love their employments too well to have taken

taken such a step: but Wood was wise enough to consider, that such orders of *revocation* would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noise, and possibly create some terror in the poor people of Ireland. And one great point he hath gained, that altho' any orders of revocation will be needless, yet a new order is to be sent (and perhaps is already here) to the commissioners of the revenue, and all the king's officers in Ireland, that Wood's "halfpence be suffered and permitted, without any "let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial of any "of the King's officers or ministers whatsoever, to "pass, and be received as *current money* by such as "shall be willing to receive them." In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *officers*, both *civil* and *military*, from the *Lord High Chancellor* to a *Justice of Peace*, and from the *General* to an *Ensign*; so that Wood's project is not likely to fail for want of *managers* enough. For my own part, as things stand, I have but little regret to find myself out of the number; and therefore I shall continue in all *humility* to exhort and warn my fellow-subjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much quicker and larger steps than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needless to argue any longer. The matter is come to an issue. His Majesty, *pursuant to the law*, hath left the field open between Wood and the kingdom of Ireland. Wood hath liberty to offer his coin, and we have *law, reason, liberty, and necessity* to refuse it. A knavish jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words *voluntary*, and *willing to receive* it, will be understood and applied in their true natural meaning, as *commonly understood by Protestants*. For if a fierce captain comes to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, fol-

lowed by a porter laden with a sack of Wood's coin upon his shoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my scarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the word of command to receive my money in Wood's coin, and calls me a *diffaffected Jacobite dog* for refusing it, (although I am as loyal a subject as himself, and *without hire*), and thereupon seizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this case I shall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own will*. I shall therefore, on such occasions, first order the porter aforesaid to go off with his pack; and then see the money in silver and gold in my possession before I cut or measure my cloth. But if a common soldier drinks his pot first, and then offers payment in Wood's *halfpence*, the landlady may be under some difficulty; for if she complains to his captain or ensign, they are likewise officers included in this general order for encouraging these halfpence to pass as *current money*. If she goes to a justice of peace, he is also an *officer*, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content, for some reasons, that the *military gentlemen* had been excepted by name; because I have heard it said, that their discipline is best confined within their own district.

His Majesty, in the conclusion of his answer to the address of the house of Lords against Wood's, coin is pleased to say, that *he will do every thing in his power to the satisfaction of his people*. It should seem therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be understood as a thing in his power. But, however, since the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and consequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preserve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom should
continue

continue in a firm, determinate resolution never to receive or utter this *fatal coin*. After which, let the *officers*, to whom these orders are directed, (I would willingly except the *military*), come with their *exhortations*, their *arguments*, and their *eloquence*, to persuade us to find our interest in our undoing. Let Wood and his *accomplices* travel about the country with *cart-loads* of their *ware*, and see who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed; for a *highwayman* would scorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the *commissioners* of the *revenue* will proceed in this juncture; because, I am told, they are obliged by act of parliament to take nothing but gold and silver in payment for his Majesty's customs: and I think they cannot justly offer this coinage of Mr. Wood to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

The sum of the whole is this: The "committee advises the king to send immediate orders to all his officers here, that Wood's coin be suffered and permitted without any let, suit, trouble, &c. to pass, and be received as *current money* by such as shall be *willing* to receive the same." It is probable, that the first *willing receivers* may be those who must receive it *whether they will or not*, at least under the penalty of losing an office. But the landed *undependent men*, the *merchants*, the *shopkeepers*, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the consequence be? the owners will sell it for as much as they can get. Wood's halfpence will come to be offered for six a penny, (yet then he will be a sufficient gainer), and the *necessary receivers* will be losers of two thirds in their *salaries* or *pay*.

This puts me in mind of a passage I was told many years ago in England. At a quarter-session in Leicester, the justices had wisely decreed to take off a *halfpenny* in a quart from the price of ale.

One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus : " Gentlemen, you have made an order " that *ale* should be sold in our county for three " halfpence a-quart ; I desire you will now make " another to appoint who must drink it ; for by " G--- I will not."

I must beg leave to caution your *Lordships* and *Worships* in one particular. Wood hath graciously promised to *load* us at present only with forty thousand pounds of his coin, *until the exigencies of the kingdom require the rest*. I intreat you will never suffer Mr. Wood to be a judge of your exigencies. While there is one piece of silver or gold left in the kingdom, he will call it an *exigency*. He will double his present *quantum* by stealth as soon as he can ; he will pour his own *raps* and *counterfeits* upon us ; France and Holland will do the same ; nor will our own coiners at home be behind them : to confirm which, I have now in my pocket a *rap*, or counterfeit halfpenny, in imitation of his ; but so ill performed, that in my conscience I believe it is not of his coining.

I must now desire your *Lordships* and *Worships*, that you will give great allowance for this long undigested paper. I find myself to have gone into several repetitions, which were the effects of haste, while new thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully answered every paragraph in the *report* ; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the spirit of a pleader, who can find the most plausible topics in behalf of his client, yet there was no great skill required to detect the many mistakes contained in it ; which however are by no means charged upon the Right Honourable *committee*, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent representations of Wood and his accomplices. I desire one particular may dwell upon your minds, although

although I have mentioned it more than once; that after all the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *report* of a patent for coining copper in England to pass in Ireland; and only two patents referred to, (for indeed there was no more), which were both passed in Ireland, by references to the King's council here, both less advantageous to the coiner than this of Wood; and in both, *securities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and silver in lieu of it*. This demonstrates the most flagrant falsehood and impudence of Wood, by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable *committee* his instruments, (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain), to ruin a kingdom which has deserved *quite different treatment*.

I am very sensible, that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens, that the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All the assistance I had, were some informations from an eminent person: whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage; I was in the case of David, who *could not move in the armour of Saul*; and therefore I rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised Philistine* (Wood I mean) *with a sling and a stone*. And I may say, for Wood's honour, as well as my own, that he resembles Goliath in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose: for Goliath had "a helmet of *brass* upon his head, and was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of *brass*, and he had greaves of *brass* upon his legs, and a target of *brass* between his shoulders." In short, he was like Mr. Wood, all over brass, and "he defied the armies of the living God. Goliath's conditions of

of combat were likewise the same with those of Wood: "If he prevail against us, then shall we be his servants. But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he shall never be a *servant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be intrusted in any honest man's shop.

I will conclude with my humble desire and request which I made in my second letter, that your *Lordships* and *Worships* would please to order a *declaration* to be drawn up, expressing in the strongest terms your resolutions never to receive or utter any of Wood's halfpence or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the said *declaration* may be signed by as many persons as possible*, who have estates in this kingdom, and be sent down to your several tenants aforesaid.

And if the dread of Wood's halfpence should continue until next quarter-sessions, which I hope it will not, the gentlemen of every county will then have a fair opportunity of declaring against them with unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greatest respect,

(May it please your Lordships and Worships,)

Your most dutiful and

Obedient servant.

Aug. 25. 1724.

M. B.

* A declaration pursuant to this request was signed soon after by the most considerable persons of the kingdom, which was universally spread, and of great use.



L E T T E R IV.

To the whole PEOPLE of IRELAND.

My dear Countrymen,

HAVING already written three LETTERS upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr. Wood and his halfpence, I conceived my task was at an end; but I find that cordials must be frequently applied to weak constitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A people long used to hardships lose by degrees the very notions of *liberty*; they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions laid on them by a stronger hand are, in the phrase of the report, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowness of spirit*, to which a kingdom may be subject, as well as a particular person. And when Esau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he sold his *birth-right for a mess of pottage*.

I thought I had sufficiently shewn to all who could want instruction, by what methods they might safely proceed, whenever his coin should be offered to them: and I believe, there has not been for many ages an example of any kingdom so firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is at present against that detestable fraud. But however, it so happens, that some weak people begin to be alarmed anew by rumours industriously spread. Wood prescribes to the newsmongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers published here by some obscure printer, (and certainly with a bad design), we are told, that the *Pa-*

pists

pists in Ireland have entered into an association against his coin: although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the matter; so that the two houses of parliament, the privy council, the great numbers of corporations, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries, and principal gentlemen of several counties, are stigmatized in a lump under the name of *Papists*.

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out, that by refusing to receive his dross for Sterling, we “dispute the King’s prerogative, are grown “ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the “dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England.” To countenance which reports he hath published a paragraph in another news-paper to let us know, that “the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to “come over immediately to settle his halfpence.”

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the least concern upon these, and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These calumnies are the only reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled loyalty will never be called in question, for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure iron-monger.

As to disputing the King’s *prerogative*, give me leave to explain to those who are ignorant what the meaning of that word *prerogative* is.

The kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed; so they can make war and peace without the consent of parliament, and this is a very great prerogative: but if the parliament doth not approve of the war, the King must bear the charge of it out of his own purse; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the King hath a prerogative to coin money without consent of parliament: but he cannot compel the

the subject to take that money, except it be Sterling, gold or silver; because herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein however the lawyers of succeeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the truth, it is only of late times that *prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For whoever reads the history of England will find, that some former kings, and those none of the worst, have upon several occasions ventured to control the laws, with very little ceremony or scruple, even latter than the days of Queen Elisabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counsel of sending *base money* hither very narrowly failed of losing the kingdom; being complained of by the Lord Deputy, the council, and the whole body of the English here: so that, soon after her death, it was recalled by her successor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you some notion of what is meant by the King's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradesman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great Lord Bacon, that "as God governs the world by the settled laws of nature, which he hath made, and never transcends those laws but upon high, important occasions: so, among earthly princes, those are the wisest and best, who govern by the known laws of the country, and seldomest make use of their *prerogative*."

Now here you may see, that the vile accusation of Wood and his *accomplices*, charging us with "disputing the King's *prerogative*" by refusing his brass, can have no place; because compelling the subject to take any coin, which is not Sterling, is no part of the King's *prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his people to dispute it, as well from that inviolable

loyalty

loyalty we have always paid to his Majesty, as from the treatment we might in such a case justly expect *from some* who seem to think we have neither *common sense, nor common senses*. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *fellow-subjects*, and not our *masters*. One great merit I am sure we have, which those of English birth can have no pretence to, that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England; for which we have been rewarded with a *worse climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent, a ruined trade, a house of *Peers* without *jurisdiction*, almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's halfpence.

But we are so far from disputing the King's prerogative in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan, only attended with one small limitation, that "no body alive" is obliged to take them.

Upon these considerations I was ever against all recourse to England for a remedy against the present impending evil; especially when I observed, that the addresses of both houses after long expectation produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of Wood; upon which I made some observations in a former letter, and might at least have made as many more; for it is a paper of as singular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake: for before this report was made, his Majesty's most gracious answer to the house of Lords was sent over, and printed; wherein are these words, "granting the patent for coining halfpence and farthings, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, &c." That King Charles II. and King James II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpose, is indisputable

indisputable, and I have shewn it at large. Their patents were passed under the great seal of Ireland, by references to Ireland, the copper to be coined in Ireland; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in Ireland, and pay silver and gold in return. Wood's patent was made under the great seal of England, the brass coined in England, not the least reference made to Ireland; the sum immense, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, because in my private thoughts I have sometimes made a query, whether the *penner* of those words in his Majesty's most gracious answer, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several circumstances, which in my poor opinion seem to make a difference*.

Let me now say something concerning the other great cause of some people's fear, as Wood has taught the London news-writer to express it, that "his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's halfpence."

We know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants for several years past have not thought this kingdom "worthy the honour of their residence," longer than was absolutely necessary for the King's business; which consequently "wanted no speed in the dispatch." And therefore it naturally fell into most mens thoughts, that a new governor, coming at an *unusual* time, must portend some *unusual* business to be done; especially if the common report be true, that the parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is by a new summons revoking that prorogation to assemble soon after his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other side the water have by great good fortune found two *precedents*.

* See the note at the end of this letter.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that so *little a creature* as Wood could find credit enough with the King and his ministers to have the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland sent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of some people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great seal of England, upon false suggestions, to one William Wood for coining copper *halfpence* for Ireland: the parliament here, upon apprehensions of the worst consequences from the said patent, address the King to have it recalled: this is refused, and a committee of the privy council *report* to his Majesty, that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his halfpence, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here being likewise left to themselves, unite as one man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifest, that the King and his ministry are wholly out of the case, and the matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to persuade me, that a lord lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great haste before the ordinary time, and a parliament summoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thousand pounds into the pocket of a *sharper* by the ruin of a most loyal kingdom?

But supposing all this to be true; by what arguments could a lord lieutenant prevail on the same parliament, which addressed with so much zeal and earnestness against this evil, to pass it into a law? I am sure their opinion of Wood and his project is not mended since their last prorogation: and supposing those methods should be used, which detractors tell us have been sometimes put in practice for gaining votes, it is well known, that in this kingdom

kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is as well known to whose share they must fall.

But, because great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you some reasons, why there are so few employments to be disposed of in this kingdom. All considerable offices for life here are possessed by those to whom the reversions were granted; and these have been generally followers of the chief governors, or persons who had interest in the court of England: so the Lord Berkeley of Stratton holds that great office of *master of the rolls*; the Lord Palmerston is *first remembrancer*, worth near 2000 *l. per annum*. One Dodington, secretary to the Earl of Pembroke, begged the reversion of *clerk of the pells*, worth 2500 *l. a-year*, which he now enjoys by the death of the Lord Newton. Mr. Southwell is secretary of state, and the Earl of Burlington Lord High Treasurer of Ireland by inheritance. These are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reversion of several employments during pleasure is granted the same way. This among many others is a circumstance whereby the kingdom of Ireland is distinguished from all other nations upon earth, and makes it so difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr. Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called *keeper of the records in Bermingham's tower*, of ten pounds a-year, and to get a salary of 400 *l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half a crown either for curiosity or use. And we lately saw a *favourite secretary* * descend to be *master of the revels*, which by his credit and extortion he hath made pretty considerable. I say nothing of the under-treasurership worth about

* Mr. Hopkins, secretary to the Duke of Grafton.

9000 *l.* a-year, nor of the commissioners of the revenue four of whom generally live in England; for I think none of these are granted in reversion. But the jest is, that I have known, upon occasion, some of these absent officers as *keen* against the interest of Ireland as if they had never been indebted to her for a *single groat*.

I confess I have been sometimes tempted to wish, that this project of Wood might succeed; because I reflected with some pleasure, what a jolly crew it would bring over among us of lords, and 'squires, and pensioners of both sexes, and officers civil and military, where we should live together as merry and sociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we should neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to clothe us, unless we could be content to prance about in coats of mail, or eat *brass* as ostriches do *iron*.

I return from this digression to that which gave me occasion of making it. and I believe you are now convinced, that if the parliament of Ireland were as *temptable* as any *other* assembly within a mile of Christendom, (which God forbid); yet the managers must of necessity fail for want of tools to work with. But I will yet go one step farther, by supposing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpose to gratify compliers: yet still an insuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of town nor country party; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuse to live upon his own estate, which brings him gold and silver, than with the addition of an employment, when his rents and salaries must both be paid in Wood's brass, at above eighty *per cent.* discount.

For these, and many other reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least apprehensions from the sudden expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant**,

nant *, while we continue in our hearty disposition, to alter which no suitable temptation can possibly be offered. And if, as I have often asserted from the best authority, the *law* hath not left a power in the crown to force any money, except Sterling, upon the subject; much less can the crown *devolve* such a *power* upon another.

This I speak with the utmost respect to the person and dignity of his Excellency the Lord Carteret, whose character was lately given me by a gentleman that hath known him from his first appearance in the world; that gentleman describes him as a young man of great accomplishments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much spirit and vivacity. He hath since, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal secretary of state: and is now about the thirty-seventh year of his age appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. From such a governor this kingdom may reasonably hope for as much prosperity as, *under so many discouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of so much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible consequences to this kingdom by their power with those *who are in office*: and by their arts in managing or deluding others with *oaths*, *affability*, and even with *dinners*. If Wood's brags had in those times been upon the anvil, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. Depending persons would have been told in plain terms, that it was a "service expected from them under the pain of the public business being put into more complying hands." Others would be allured by *promises*. To the country-gentlemen, besides *good words*, *Burgundy*, and *closeting*, it might perhaps have been hinted, how "kindly it would be taken to comply

* Lord Carteret, now Earl of Granville.

“ with a royal patent, although it were not compulsory :” that if any inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other *graces or favours hereafter* : that gentlemen ought to consider, *whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England* : They would be desired to “ think of some good bills for encouraging of trade, and setting the poor to work : some further acts against Popery, and for uniting Protestants.” There would be solemn engagements, that we should never be troubled with “ above forty thousand pounds in his coin, and all of the best and weightiest sort, for which we shall only give our manufactures in exchange, and keep our gold and silver at home. Perhaps a seasonable report of some invasion would have been spread in the most proper juncture : which is a great smother of rubs in public proceedings ; and we should have been told, that “ this was no time to create differences, when the kingdom was in danger.”

These, I say, and the like methods, would in corrupt times have been taken to let in this deluge of *brass* among us. And, I am confident, even then would not have succeeded ; much less under the administration of so excellent a person as the Lord CARTERET ; and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their posterity for ever will be dated from the admission of that execrable coin : that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate quantity, than a plague can be confined to few families ; and that no equivalent can be given by an earthly power, any more than a dead carcase can be recovered to life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumstance in this universal opposition to Mr. Wood, that the people sent over hither from England to *fill up our vacancies, ecclesiastical, civil, and military*, are all on our side.

side. Money, the great divider of the world, hath by a strange revolution been the great *uniter* of a most *divided* people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a-year in England (*a country of freedom*) to be paid a thousand in Ireland out of Wood's exchequer? The gentleman they have lately made primate *, would never quit his seat in an English house of Lords, and his preferments at Oxford and Bristol worth twelve hundred pounds a-year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an Irishman at least upon this *one article* as any of his brethren, or even of *us*, who have had the misfortune to be born in this island. For those who, in the common phrase, do not *come hither to learn the language*, would never change a better country for a worse, to receive *brags* instead of *gold*.

Another slander spread by Wood and his emissaries, is, that by opposing him we discover an inclination to *shake off your dependence upon the crown of England*. Pray observe how important a person is this same William Wood; and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private interest. First, all those who refuse to take his coin are *Papists*; for he tells us, that *none but Papists are associated against him*. Secondly, they *dispute the King's prerogative*. Thirdly, they are *ripe for rebellion*. And, fourthly, they are going to *shake off the dependence upon the crown of England*; that is to say, *they are going to chuse another king*; for there can be no other meaning in this expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to those who are ignorant, another point, which hath often swelled in my breast. Those who come over hither to us from England, and some *weak* people among ourselves, whenever in discourse we

* Dr. Hugh Boulter,

make mention of liberty and property, shake their heads, and tell us, that * Ireland is a *depending kingdom*; as if they would seem by this phrase to intend, that the people of Ireland are in some state of slavery or dependence different from those of England; whereas a *depending kingdom* is a modern term of art, unknown, as I have heard, to all ancient civilians, and writers upon government; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in some statutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a style as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expression, a *depending kingdom*, there no more to be understood, than that, by a statute made here in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. "the King, and his successors, are "to be Kings imperial of this realm, as united "and knit to the imperial crown of England." I have looked over all the English and Irish statutes without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England doth upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have the same King with them; and consequently they are obliged to have the same King with us. For the law was made by our own parliament; and our ancestors then were not such fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign) to bring themselves under I know not what dependence, which is now talked of, without any ground of *law, reason, or common sense*.

Let who ever think otherwise, I, M. B. drapier, desire to be excepted: for I declare, next under God I depend only on the King my Sovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am so far from depending upon the people of England, that if they should ever rebel against my Sovereign, (which God forbid) I would be ready at the first command from his Majesty to take arms against

* See the note at the end of this letter.

them,

them, as some of my countrymen did against theirs at Preston. And if such a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the Pretender on the throne of England, I would venture to transgress that statute so far, as to lose every drop of my blood to hinder him from being King of Ireland*.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of England have sometimes assumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as truth, reason, and justice are capable of opposing) by the famous Mr. Molineux, an English gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and *best Whigs* in England; but the love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both sides were invincible. For in reason, all government without the consent of the governed, is the very definition of slavery: but, in fact, "eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt." But I have done: for those who have used power to cramp liberty, have gone so far as to resent even the liberty of complaining; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to sink too much under unreasonable fears, so we are too soon inclined to be raised by groundless hopes, according to the nature of all consumptive bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for several days past, that *somebody* in England empowered a second *somebody* to write to a third *somebody* here to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with these halfpence*. And this is reported to be done by the same person †, who is said to have sworn some months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats*, (though I doubt

* This paragraph gave great offence. See letter 5.

† Mr. Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford,

they would stick in our stomachs) : but which ever of these reports be true or false, it is no concern of ours. For in this point we have nothing to do with English ministers : and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance, or to enforce it ; for the *report of the committee* hath given me a surfeit. The remedy is wholly in our own hands ; and therefore I have degreased a little in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you : and to let you see, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of YOUR COUNTRY, YOU ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in England.

If the pamphlets published at London by Wood and his *journeymen* in defence of his cause were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they could be persuaded of his wicked design, more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect *saint* in comparison of what he appears to be from the writings of those whom he hires to justify his project. But he is so far master of the field (*let others guess the reason*), that no London printer dare publish any paper written in favour of Ireland ; and here no body hath yet been so bold as to publish any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few day ago, a pamphlet sent me of near fifty pages written in favour of Mr. Wood and his coinge, printed in London : it is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here. But it gave me occasion to reflect upon an unhappiness we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our case ; which however is now under, since it is a point they do not in the least concern themselves about, farther than perhaps as a subject of discourse in a coffeehouse when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have reason to believe, that no *minister* ever gave himself the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence,

defence, because I suppose their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices: else it would be impossible, that any man could have the impudence to write such a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our neighbours, whose understandings are just upon a level with ours (which perhaps are none of the *brightest*), have a strong contempt for most nations, but especially for Ireland. They look upon us as a sort of *savage* Irish, whom our ancestors conquered several hundred years ago. And if I should describe the Britons to you as they were in Cæsar's time, when they "painted their bodies, or clothed themselves with the skins of beasts," I should act fully as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused in relation to the present subject, that bearing only one side of the cause, and having neither opportunity nor curiosity to examine the other, they *believe a lie* merely for their ease; and conclude, because Mr. Wood pretends to have *power*, he hath also *reason* on his side.

Therefore, to let you see how this case is represented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of those notorious falsehoods in point of *fact* and *reasoning* contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm thy countrymen in their own right sentiments, when they will see, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

First, the writer positively asserts, "That
" Wood's halfpence were current among us for
" several months, with the universal approbation
" of all people, without one single gainfayer; and
" we all, to a man, thought ourselves happy in
" having them."

Secondly,

Secondly, he affirms, " That we were drawn in-
 " to a dislike of them only by some cunning, evil-
 " designing men among us, who opposed this pa-
 " tent of Wood to get another for themselves."

Thirdly, That " those who most declared at first
 " against Wood's patent, were the very men who
 " intend to get another for their own advantage."

Fourthly, That " our parliament and privy
 " council, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dub-
 " lin, the grand juries and merchants, and in short
 " the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs (*as he*
 " *expresseth it*), were fond of those halfpence, till
 " they were inflamed by those few designing per-
 " sons aforesaid."

Fifthly, he says directly, That " all those who
 " opposed the halfpence, were Papists, and enemies
 " to King George."

Thus far, I am confident, the most ignorant among
 you can safely swear from your own knowledge, that
 the author is a most notorious liar in every article;
 the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole
 kingdom, that, if occasion required, we might get
 it confirmed under five hundred thousand hands.

Sixthly, he would persuade us, That " if we
 " sell five shillings worth of our goods or manu-
 " factures for two shillings and fourpence worth
 " of copper, although the copper were melted
 " down, and that we could get five shillings in gold
 " and silver for the said goods; yet to take the
 " said two shillings and four pence in copper would
 " be greatly for our advantage."

And, lastly, he makes us a very fair offer, as
 impowered by Wood, That " if we will take off
 " two hundred thousand pounds in his halfpence
 " for our goods, and likewise pay him three *per*
 " *cent.* interest for thirty years for an hundred and
 " twenty thousand pounds (at which he computes
 " the coinage above the intrinsic value of the cop-
 " per) for the loan of his coin, he will after that
 " time

“ time give us good money for what halfpence will
“ be then left.”

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can to shew the insupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. First, (says he),
“ I will send two hundred thousand pounds of my
“ coin into your country : the copper I compute
“ to be, in real value, eighty thousand pounds, and
“ I charge you with an hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the coinage ; so that you see, I
“ lend you an hundred and twenty thousand pounds for thirty years; for which you shall
“ pay me three *per cent.* that is to say, three thousand six hundred pounds *per annum*, which
“ in thirty years will amount to an hundred and eight thousand pounds. And when these
“ thirty years are expired, return me my copper,
“ and I will give you good money for it.”

This is the proposal made to us by Wood in that pamphlet written by one of his commissioners ; and the author is supposed to be the same infamous Coleby, one of his under-swearers at the committee of council, who was tried for robbing the treasury here, where he was an under-clerk.

By this proposal he will first receive two hundred thousand pounds, in goods or sterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thousand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thousand pounds. Secondly, he will recover for interest an hundred and eight thousand pounds : and when our children come thirty years hence to return his halfpence upon his executors, (for before that time he will be probably gone to his own place), those executors will very reasonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of such a dealer as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a Dutch reckoning, wherein if you dispute the unreason-

ablenss and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord shall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although these and the like pamphlets published by Wood in London are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much indignation, as contempt would allow: yet I thought it proper to give you a specimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any body to contradict him; while our few friends there wonder at our silence: and the English in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refusal to wilfulness or disaffection, just as Wood and his hirelings are pleased to represent.

But although our arguments are not suffered to be printed in England, yet the consequence will be of little moment. Let Wood endeavour to persuade the people there, that we ought to receive his coin; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to reject it under the pain of our utter undoing; and then let him do his best and his worst.

Before I conclude, I must beg leave, in all humility, to tell Mr. Wood, that he is guilty of great indiscretion by causing so honourable a name as that of Mr. Walpole to be mentioned so often and in such a manner upon this occasion. A short paper printed at Bristol, and reprinted here, reports Mr. Wood to say, that he "wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish in refusing his coin, and what he will do when Mr. Walpole comes to town." Where, by the way, he is mistaken; for it is the true English people of Ireland who refuse it, although we take it for granted, that the Irish will do so too whenever they are asked. In another printed paper of his contriving it is roundly expressed, that Mr. Walpole will "cram his brass down our throats." Sometimes it is given out that we must "either take
" these

“ these halfpence, or eat our brogues:” and in another news-letter, but of yesterday, we read, that the same great man “ hath sworn to make us swallow his coin in fire-balls,”

This brings to my mind the known story of a Scotchman, who receiving the sentence of death, with all the circumstances of hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling, and the like, cried out, “ What need all this cookery?” And I think we have reason to ask the same question; for, if we believe Wood, here is a dinner getting ready for us; and you see the bill of fare; and I am sorry the drink was forgot; which might easily be supplied with melted lead and flaming pitch.

What vile words are these to put into the mouth of a great counsellor, in high trust with his Majesty, and looked upon as a prime minister? If Mr. Wood hath no better a manner of representing his patrons, when I come to be a great man he shall never be suffered to attend at my levee. This is not the stile of a great minister; it favours too much of the kettle and the furnace, and came entirely out of Wood’s forge.

As for the threat of making us eat our brogues, we need not be in pain; for if his coin should pass, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a national reproach; because then we should have neither shoe nor brogue left in the kingdom. But here the falsehood of Mr. Wood is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. Walpole never heard of a brogue in his whole life.

As to “ swallowing these halfpence in fire-balls,” it is a story equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole stock of Mr. Wood’s coin and metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow balls and wild-fire, no bigger than a reasonable throat may be able to swallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty mil-

lions of halfpence to be swallowed by a million and an half of people ; so that, allowing two halfpence to each ball, there will be about seventeen balls of wildfire a-piece to be swallowed by every person in the kingdom ; and, to administer this dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand operators, allowing one operator to every thirty ; which, considering the squeamishness of some stomachs, and the peevishness of young children, is but reasonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit ; and therefore I take this report to be spurious, or, at least, only a new scheme of Mr. Wood himself ; which, to make it pass the better in Ireland, he would father it upon a minister of state.

But I will now demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr. Walpole is against this project of Mr. Wood, and is an intire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the universal opinion of being a wise man, an able minister, and in all his proceedings pursuing the true interest of the King his master : and that as his integrity is above all corruption, so is his fortune above all temptation. I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly safe from that corner, and shall never be under the necessity of contending with so formidable a power, but be left to possess our brogues and potatoes in peace, as * “ remote from thunder as we “ are from Jupiter.”

I am, my dear countrymen,
your loving fellow-subject,
fellow-sufferer, and
humble servant.

October 13. 1724.

M. B.

* *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.*

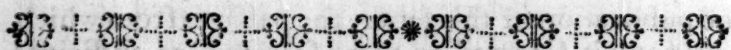
Upon

Upon the arrival of Lord Carteret, soon after the publication of this letter, the passages from which this note is referred to were selected as sufficient grounds for prosecution, and a proclamation was published by his Excellency and council, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering the author. Harding the printer was imprisoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared against him: which gave occasion to the following paper.



B b 3

Seasonable



Seasonable ADVICE to the GRAND JURY,
concerning the bill preparing against the
PRINTER of the preceding LETTER.

SINCE a bill is preparing for the grand jury to find against the printer of the Drapier's last letter, there are several things maturely to be considered by those gentlemen before they determine upon it.

First, They are to consider, that the author of said pamphlet did write three other discourses on the same subject, which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raised and continued that spirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out Wood's coin; for all men will grant, that if those pamphlets had not been written, his coin must have over-run the nation some months ago.

Secondly, It is to be considered, that this pamphlet, against which a proclamation hath been issued, is written by the same author; that nobody ever doubted the innocence and goodness of his design; that he appears through the whole tenor of it, to be a loyal subject to his Majesty, and devoted to the house of Hanover, and declares himself in a manner peculiarly zealous against the Pretender. And if such a writer in four several treatises on so nice a subject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was necessary to speak of England and of liberty, should in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expression, it would be hard to condemn him after all the good he hath done, especially when we consider, that he could have no possible design in view either
of

of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well considered, whether any one expression in the said pamphlet be really liable to a just exception, much less to be found "wicked, malicious, seditious, reflecting upon his Majesty and his ministry, &c."

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is said the prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, first where the author mentions the penner of the King's answer. First, It is well known his Majesty is not master of the English tongue; and therefore it is necessary that some other person should be employed to pen what he hath to say, or write in that language. Secondly, His Majesty's answer is not in the first person, but in the third. It is not said, WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and his ROYAL PREDECESSOR. By which it is plain, these are properly not the words of his Majesty; but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his ministers. Thirdly, It will be easily seen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his sentiments upon this particular with the utmost caution and respect, as any impartial reader will observe.

The second paragraph, which it is said will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author says of Ireland's being a dependent kingdom: he explains all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in Ireland, whereby it is enacted, That "whoever is King of England shall be King of Ireland." Before this explanation be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that some lawyers should fully inform the jury what other law there is, either statute or common, for this dependency; and if there be no law, there is no transgression.

The fourth thing very maturely to be considered

ed by the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom: the people in general finding no fault in the Drapier's last book, any more than the three former; and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a grand jury of Dublin, they will conclude it is done in favour of Wood's coin; they will think we of this town have changed our minds, and intend to take those halfpence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: so that the question comes to this, which will be of the worst consequence? to let pass one or two expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a book written for the public service; or to leave a free open passage for Wood's brass to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever.

The fifth thing to be considered is, That the members of the grand jury being merchants and principal shopkeepers, can have no suitable temptation offered them, as a recompense for the mischief they will do and suffer, by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loss or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the state, to make up in their own private advantages by the destruction of their country; whereas those who go about to advise, entice, or threaten them to find that bill, have great employments which they have a mind to keep, or to get greater; as it was likewise the case of all those who signed the proclamation to have the author prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, so renowned for his piety, and wisdom, and love of his country, absolutely refused to condemn the book or the author.

Lastly, It ought to be considered, what consequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expressions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to
find

find any. But how can it be supposed that an ignorant printer can be such a *critic*? He knew the author's design was honest, and approved by the whole kingdom: he advised with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could see none himself: it was sent him in an unknown hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths, that they know not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring punishment upon the innocent, will appear very hard, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the author, unless he will please to discover himself; although I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I suppose, what he did at first out of modesty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable ascribed to Demosthenes: He had served the people of Athens with great fidelity in the station of an *orator*; when upon a certain occasion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the Athenians, his countrymen, the following story. Once upon a time the wolves desired a league with the sheep, upon this condition; that the cause of strife might be taken away, which was the shepherds and mastiffs: this being granted the wolves without all fear made havock of the sheep.

November 11. 1724.

Copies of this paper were distributed to every person of the grand jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited; who, probably for the reasons contained in it, refused to find the bill; upon which the Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, who had presided at a former prosecution of the Dean's printer,

printer *, discharged them in a rage. The following extract was soon after published, to shew the illegality of this proceeding; and the next grand jury that was empannelled made the subsequent presentment against all the abettors of Wood's project. See Letter to Lord Molesworth, p. 302. of this volume.

* See the first note prefixed to the proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures, in this volume.



An extract from a book, intituled, *An exact collection of the debates of the house of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct. 21. 1680, p. 150.*

RESOLUTIONS of the house of Commons in England, Nov. 13. 1680.

Several persons being examined about the dismissing a grand jury in Middlesex, the house came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the discharging of a grand jury by any judge, before the end of the term, affizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in Westminster-hall; and report the same, with their opinion herein, to this house.

Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, for his conduct, deserved to have been impeached by the house of Commons; because the dissolving of a grand jury by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm. But as the house of Commons forbore to execute their vengeance upon the Chief Justice, Swift seized upon him as a prey, lashed him, and worried him out of all his patience, by many sarcastic epigrams, squibs, and other severe reflections upon his unworthy demeanor, until at last he became odious and ridiculous to the whole kingdom. Neither could his death, which happened soon after, appease the vengeance of the incensed patriot. For Swift, resolving to make him an example to all future ages, pursued him into the regions of the dead, and coupled him with Anytus the accuser of Socrates. Such indeed was at last the sacrifice that poor unfortunate Whitshed became unto the resentment of Dr. Swift. — See Swift's poems concerning Whitshed; also, *A short view of Ireland*; and, *An answer to a memorial*. See also *The life and character of Dr. Swift*. D. Swift.



The PRESENTMENT of the GRAND
JURY of the county of the city of Dublin.

WHEREAS several great quantities of base metal coined, commonly called Wood's halfpence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in several houses of this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely among his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom; notwithstanding the addresses of both houses of parliament, and the privy council, and the declarations of most of the corporations of this city against the said coin: and whereas his Majesty has been graciously pleased to leave his loyal subjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuse the said halfpence:

We the grand jury of the county of the city of Dublin, this Michaelmas term 1724, having entirely at heart his Majesty's interest, and the welfare of our county, and being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his Majesty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our posterity, do *present* all such persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour by fraud, or otherwise to impose the said halfpence upon us, contrary to his Majesty's most gracious intentions, as enemies to his Majesty's government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom; whose affections have been so eminently distinguished by their zeal to his illustrious family before his happy accession to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever since.

As

As we do, with all just gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such patriots as have been eminently zealous for the interest of his Majesty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said Wood, and preventing the passing his base coin; so we do, at the same time, declare our abhorrence and detestation of all reflections on his Majesty and his government; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his most sacred Majesty against the pretender, and all his Majesty's open and secret enemies both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the grand-jury chamber,
this 28th of November 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empson,
Nathaniel Pearson,
Joseph Nuttall,
William Aston,
Stearn Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vereilles,
Philip Pearson,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawson,

David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

The preceding paper was published about a month after the proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 300 l. for the discovering the author of the Drapier's fourth letter.

A L E T T E R

To the Right Honourable

The Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the Year 1724.

They compassed me about also with words of deceit, and fought against me without a cause.

For my love they are my adversaries; but I give myself unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. Psal. cix. 3, 4, 5.

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy uprightness.

Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.

Bind not one sin upon another, for in one thou shalt not be unpunished. Eccclus vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo :
Quanquam O! sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti.

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr. HARDING,

WHEN I sent you my former papers, I cannot say I intended you either good or hurt; and yet you have happened through my means to receive both. I pray God deliver you from any more
of

Of the latter, and increase the former. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is of all others the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for, as you deal in the most worthless kind of trash, the penny-productions of pennyless scriblers; so you often venture your liberty, and sometimes your lives, for the purchase of half a crown; and, by your own ignorance, are punished for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you in particular think you have reason to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in prison, to your great expense, as well as hardship; and for a prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, how that matter stands. Since the press hath lain under so strict an inspection, those who have a mind to inform the world, are become so cautious as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the way of danger. My custom therefore is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written we send to your house by a black-guard boy. But, at the same time, I do assure you upon my reputation, that I never did send you any thing for which I thought you could possibly be called to an account. And you will be my witness, that I always desired you, by a letter, to take some good advice before you ventured to print; because I knew the *dexterity of dealers in the law*, at finding out something to fasten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able persons, and even some who afterwards appeared against you: to which I can only answer, that you must either change your advisers, or determine to print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.

I desire you will send the inclosed letter directed to my Lord Viscount Molesworth, at his house in Brackdenstown, near Swords: but I would have it sent printed for the convenience of his Lordship's reading; because this counterfeit hand of my prentice

tice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over by some notable lawyer: I am assured you will find enough of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expenses. For although I have taken so much care, that I think it impossible to find a topic out of the following papers for sending you again to prison, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This ensuing letter contains only a short account of myself, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, especially the last; with little mention of Mr. Wood or his halfpence; because I have already said enough upon that subject, until occasion shall be given for new fears; and, in that case, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am,

From my Shop in
St. Francis-street,
Dec. 14. 1724.

your friend
and servant,
M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer *, your people are apt to make very gross errors in the press, which I desire you will provide against.

* The copies were always sent to the press by some obscure messenger, who never knew the person from whom he received them; but gave them in at a window. The amanuensis only was trusted, to whom about two years after the author gave an employment of 40 l. a year as a reward for his fidelity. *Dub. edit.*

To

To the Right Honourable

The Lord VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH,

At his house at Brackdenstown, near Swords.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late on the maxim of common observers, That those who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reason to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myself the displeasure of the government, signified by a proclamation promising a reward of three hundred pounds to the first faithful subject who shall be able and inclined to inform against me; to which I may add, the laudable zeal and industry of my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, in his endeavours to discover so dangerous a person. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cause to do so; and the common observation still stands good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the course of human affairs, that a man shall be made liable to legal animadversions; where he hath nothing to answer for either to God or his country; and condemned at Westminster-hall, for what he will never be charged with at the day of judgment.

After strictly examining my own heart, and consulting some divines of great reputation, I cannot accuse myself of any * “ malice or wickedness a-

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

“ against the public ; of any designs to sow fedition ; of reflecting on the king and his ministers ;
 “ or of endeavouring to alienate the affections of
 “ the people of this kingdom from those of England.” All I can charge myself with, is a weak attempt to serve a nation in danger of destruction by a most wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its assistance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burden upon my conscience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myself into a second danger, by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a judge, who, upon the criminal’s appeal to the dreadful day of judgment, told him he had incurred a premunire for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction : and of another in Wales, who severely checked the prisoner for offering the same plea ; taxing him with reflecting on the court by such a comparison ; because *comparisons were odious*.

But, in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my condition, I desire your Lordship’s pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing ; which is to give you some little account of myself.

I was bred at a free school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the Latin tongue. I served my apprenticeship in London, and there set up for myself with good success ; until by the death of some friends, and misfortunes of others, I returned into this kingdom ; and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the woollen manufacture through all its branches ; wherein I met with great discouragement, and powerful opposers, whose objections appeared to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the people of England would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs : and even some of the weaving trade
 were

were my enemies ; which I could not but look upon as absurd and unnatural. I remember your Lordship at that time did me the honour to come into my shop, where I shewed you * a piece of black and white stuff just sent from the dyer : which you were pleased to approve of, and be my customer for.

However, I was so mortified, that I resolved for the future to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in common goods, like the rest of my brethren ; until it happened some months ago, considering with myself, that the lower or poorer sort of people wanted a plain strong coarse stuff to defend them against cold easterly winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time together ; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the kingdom, and preserved many thousands from agues. I then made a * second and a third kind of stuffs for the gentry, with the same success ; insomuch that an ague hath hardly been heard of for some time.

This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a † fourth piece made of the best Irish wool I could get ; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best lord or judge of the land. But of late some great folks complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a shuddering in their limbs, and have thrown it off in a rage ; cursing to hell the poor drapier who invented it : so that I am determined never to work for persons of quality again ; except for your Lordship and a very few more.

I assure your Lordship, upon the word of an honest citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. Wood's halfpence, with the sale of all the several stuffs I have contrived : for I give the

* By this is meant, the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures.*

* The drapier's first three letters.

† The fourth letter, against which the proclamation was issued.

whole profit to the *dyers* and *pressers* †. And therefore I hope you will please to believe, that no other motive, besides the love of my country, could engage me to busy my head and hands to the loss of my time, and the gain of nothing but vexation and ill-will.

I have now in hand one piece of stuff to be woven on purpose for your Lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the || shreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former. However, I shall work it up as well as I can; and, at worst, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very sensible, how ill your Lordship is like to be entertained with the pedantry of a drapier in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very sparingly, into an affair of state? for such is now grown the controversy with Mr. Wood, if some great lawyers are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with farthings, and go on to gold, till some of them lose their estates, and die in jail; so it may possibly fall out in my case, that by playing too long with Mr. Wood's halfpence, I may be drawn in to pay a fine double to the reward for betraying me; be sent to prison, and *not delivered thence until I shall have paid the uttermost farthing.*

There are, my Lord, three sorts of persons, with whom I am resolved never to dispute; a highwayman with a pistol at my breast; a troop of dragoons, who come to plunder my house; and a man of the law, who can make a merit of accusing me. In each of these cases, which are almost the same, the best method is to keep out of the way; and the next best is, to deliver your money, surrender your house, and confess nothing.

† Printers.

|| Meaning the present letter.

I am told, that the two points in my last letter, from which an occasion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his Majesty's answer to the address of the house of Lords upon Mr. Wood's patent; and where I discourse upon Ireland being a dependent kingdom. As to the former I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost respect and caution; and I thought it necessary to shew where Wood's patent differed in many essential parts from all others that ever had been granted; because the contray had, for want of due information, been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of Ireland's dependency: I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to understand what it meant. This gave me the curiosity to inquire among several eminent lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the statutes of both kingdoms without the least information, further than an Irish act that I quoted, of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to England under one King. I cannot say, I was sorry to be disappointed in my search, because it is certain, I could be contented to depend only upon God and my prince, and the laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations. But since my betters are of a different opinion, and desire further dependencies, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own heart upon the exception I made of *M. B. drapier*. Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle story I had heard in England, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but because it insinuates neither treason nor sedition, I will just barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the Peers were so great that the Commons were looked upon as little better than their dependents, a bill was brought in for making some new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drue, a member of the house stood up, and said,

said, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it pass; but however, for some reasons best known to himself, he desired that a clause might be inserted for *excepting the family of the Drues*. The oddness of the proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were mistaken, or went too far in examining the dependency, must be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although indeed not in so effectual and decisive a manner. But to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile spirit, that this point did not belong to my subject, is a false and foolish objection. There were several scandalous reports industriously spread by Wood and his accomplices, to discourage all opposition against his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a rebellion; that we disputed the King's prerogative, and were shaking off our dependency. The first went so far, and obtained so much belief against the most visible demonstrations to the contrary, that a great person of this kingdom, now in England, sent over such an account of it to his friends, as would make any good subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that calumny as it deserved. Then I proved by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to dispute his Majesty's prerogative; because the prerogative was not concerned in the question; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money*. And lastly, to clear us from the imputation of shaking off our dependency, I shewed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this dependency consisted; and cited the statute above mentioned made in Ireland; by which it is enacted, that "whoever is King of England, shall be King of Ireland;" and that the two kingdoms shall be "for ever knit together

“gether under one King.” This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our dependency; because it was altogether out of our power: for surely no King of England will ever consent to the repeal of this statute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accusation. It is said I *went too far*, when I declared, “that if ever the pretender should come to be fixed upon the throne of England (which God forbid), I would so far venture to transgress this statute, that I would lose the last drop of my blood, before I would submit to him as King of Ireland.”

This I hear on all sides is the strongest and weightiest objection against me; and which hath given the most offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct statute; and that any motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a king, whom England should receive. Now, if in defending myself from this accusation I should freely confess, that I *went too far*; that the expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my zeal for his present Majesty, and his Protestant line in the house of Hanover; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgement and sorrow for my error will be some atonement, and a little soften the hearts of my powerful adversaries: I say, if I should offer such a defence as this, I do not doubt but some people would wrest it to an ill meaning by spiteful interpretation. And therefore, since I cannot think of any other answer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but still without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your Lordship a secret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know, that this habit of writing and discoursing, wherein I unfortunately differ

differ from almost the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wish, was acquired during my apprenticeship in London, and and a long residence there after I had set up for myself. Upon my return and settlement here, I thought I had only changed one country of freedom for another. I had been long conversing with the writings of your Lordship *, Mr. Locke, Mr. Molineux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of "liberty as a blessing, to which
 " the whole race of mankind hath an original title;
 " whereof nothing hut unlawful force can divest
 " them." I knew a great deal of the several Gothic institutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be destroyed: and I ever thought it the most uncontrolled and universally agreed maxim, "That freedom consists in a people's
 " being governed by laws made with their own consent; and slavery in the contrary." I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true, that liberty and property are words of known use and signification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to understand, and have them often in their mouths. These were the errors which have misled me, and to which alone I must impute the severe treatment I have received. But I shall in time grow wiser, and learn to consider my driver, the road I am in, and with whom I am yoked. This I will venture to say, that the boldest and most obnoxious words I ever delivered, would in England have only exposed me as a stupid fool, who went to prove that *the sun shone in a clear summer's day*: and I have witnesses ready to depose, that your Lordship hath said and writ fifty times worse; and what is still an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and stronger arguments: so that, as politicks run,

* He published a book in the reign of William III, intitled, *The state of Denmark*, with a large preface. *Harokes.*

I do not know a person of more exceptionable principles than yourself : and if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and support me in prison ; or else I may chance to inform against you by way of reprisal.

In the mean time I beg your Lordship to receive my confession ; that if there be any such a thing as a dependency of Ireland upon England, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the law of God, of nature, of reason, of nations, or of the land, (which I shall die rather than grant), then was the proclamation against me the most merciful that ever was put out ; and instead of accusing me as malicious, wicked, and seditious, it might have been directly as guilty of high-treason.

All I desire is, that the cause of my country against Mr. Wood may not suffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the king, and the law ; I hope no man will assert, that it depends upon Mr. Wood. I should be heartily sorry, that this commendable spirit against me should accidentally (and what, I hope, was never intended) strike a damp upon that spirit in all ranks and corporations of men against the desperate and ruinous design of Mr. Wood. Let my countrymen blot out those parts in my last letter, which they dislike ; and let no rust remain on my sword to cure the wounds I have given to our most mortal enemy. When Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths, where several things were to be renounced, he said, he loved renouncing ; asked if any more were to be renounced ; for he was ready to renounce as much as they pleased. Although I am not so thorough a renouncer, yet let me have but good city security against this pestilent coinage, and I shall be ready, not only to renounce every syllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them chearfully with my own hands into those of the common hangman to be burnt with ~~no~~

better company than the coiner's effigies, if any part of it hath escaped out of the secular hands of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the sentiments of some people may be, I think it is agreed, that many of those who subscribed against me, are on the side of a vast majority in the kingdom, who opposed Mr. Wood * ; and it was with great satisfaction, that I observed some right honourable names very amicably joined with my own at the bottom of a strong declaration against him and his coin. But if the admission of it among us be already determined, the worthy person who is to betray me, ought in prudence to do it with all convenient speed ; or else it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds Sterling for the discharge of his hire, when the public shall have lost five hundred thousand, if there be so much in the nation ; besides four fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man it is of much weight, which of them gave the first provocation, or struck the first blow. It is manifest that Mr. Wood hath done both : and therefore I should humbly propose to have him first hanged, and his dross thrown into the sea : after which the drapier will be ready to stand his trial. " It must needs be that offences come, but wo un-
" to him by whom the offence cometh. If Mr. Wood had held his hand, every body else would have held their tongues ; and then there would

* As the Drapier's letters were written expressly against Wood's halfpence, it might well be imagined that a proclamation against the author would produce an opinion, that to oppose Wood's halfpence was illegal, and subjected the party to pains and penalties : to prevent so fatal a mistake, it is here remarked, that many of those who subscribed the proclamation, were yet strenuous opposers of Wood's project. This distinction is yet more explicit in the letter to Lord Middleton, which was written soon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though for some reasons deferred.----- See the letter to Lord Middleton, and the note prefixed. *Hawkes.*

have been little need of pamphlets, juries, or proclamations upon this occasion. The provocation must needs have been very great, which could stir up an obscure, indolent drapier to become an author. One would almost think, the very stones in the street would rise up in such a cause: and I am not sure they will not do so against Mr. Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known story of the dumb boy, whose tongue forced a passage for speech by the horror of seeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may lessen the wonder, that a tradesman hid in privacy and silence should cry out, when the life and being of his political mother are attempted before his face, and by so infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr. Wood the destroyer of a kingdom walks about in triumph, (unless it be true, that he is in jail for debt), while he who endeavoured to assert the liberty of his country is forced to hide his head for occasionally dealing in a matter of controversy. However, I am not the first, who hath been condemned to death for gaining a great victory over a powerful enemy by disobeying for once the strict orders of military discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual proceeding of mankind, because it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean* *. He shewed the mistake I was in, of trusting to the general good-will of the people; that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate circumstantial lapse would probably bring me within the reach of power: that my good intentions would be no security against those who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterness of my soul. He produced an instance of a person as innocent, as disinterested, and as well-

* The author is supposed to mean himself.

meaning as myself ; who had written † a very reasonable and inoffensive treatise, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures ; for which however the printer was prosecuted with the utmost virulence ; the *jury sent back nine times* ; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The dean further observed, that I was in a manner left alone to stand the battle ; while others, who had ten thousand times better talents than a *drapier*, were so prudent as to lie still ; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant amusement to look on with safety, while another was giving them diversion at the hazard of his liberty and fortune ; and thought they made a sufficient recompence by a little applause : whereupon he concluded with a short story of a Jew at Madrid ; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a croud of schoolboys following him to the stake, and apprehending they might lose their sport if he should happen to recant, would often clap him on the back, and cry, *Sta firme Moyse*, (*Moses continue steadfast.*)

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his observations just ; and in one respect my condition is worse than that of the Jew : for “ no recantation will save me.” However, it should seem by some late proceedings, that my state is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the steadiness of two impartial grand juries ; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained ; that, as philosophers say, *virtue is seated in the middle* ; so, in another sense, the little virtue left in the world is chiefly to be found among the middle rank of mankind, who are neither allured out of her paths by ambition, nor driven by poverty.

† The author means himself again ; in the discourse advising the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures.

Since the proclamation occasioned by my last letter, and a due preparation for proceeding against me in a court of justice, there have been two printed papers clandestinely spread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by conjecture; which with its usual charity, lays them to my account. The former is intitled, *Seasonable advice*, and appears to have been intended for information of the grand jury, upon the supposition of a bill to be prepared against that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry resolution of the house of Commons in England against dissolving grand juries. As to the former, your Lordships will find it to be the work of a more artful hand than that of a common drapier. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiassed; and for that reason it is manifest, that no judge was ever known, either upon or off the bench, either by himself or his dependents, to use the least insinuation, that might possibly affect the passions or interests of any one single jurymen, much less of a whole jury; whereof every man must be convinced, who will just give himself the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: so as it is amazing to think, what a number of upright judges there have been in both kingdoms for above sixty years past: which, considering how long they held their offices during pleasure, as they still do among us *, I account next to a miracle.

As to the other paper, I must confess it is a sharp censure from an English house of Commons against

* Perhaps this may account for Whittshed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *Proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures*; and superadded to the *seasonable advice to the grand jury*, both in this volume.

dissolving grand juries by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration and not presented, as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and as a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For whatever dependence there may be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not insinuate, that the proceedings of a lord chief justice in Ireland must depend upon a resolution of an English house of commons. Besides that resolution, although it were levelled against a particular lord chief justice, Sir William Scroggs, yet the occasion was directly contrary. For Scroggs dissolved the grand jury of London for fear they should present; but ours in Dublin was dissolved because they would not present; which wonderfully alters the case. And therefore a second grand jury supplied that defect by making a presentment * that pleased the whole kingdom. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other jury behaved themselves in such a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there shall be any regard left among us for virtue or public spirit.

I am confident your Lordships will be of my sentiments in one thing; that some short plain authentic tract might be published for the information both of petty and grand juries, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of such a treatise might be deposited in every court to be consulted by the jurymen, before they consider of their verdict; by which abundance of inconveniencies would be avoided, whereof innumerable instances might be produced

* See the presentment immediately preceding this letter,

from former times ; because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an eastern king, who put a judge to death for an iniquitous sentence ; and ordered his hide to be stuffed into a cushion, and placed upon the tribunal for the son to sit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy such a memorial might not have been unuseful to a son of Sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his successors would often wriggle in their seats, as long as the cushion lasted : I with the relator had told us what number of such cushions there might be in that country.

I cannot but observe to your Lordship, how nice and how dangerous a point it is grown, for a private person to inform the people, even in an affair where the public interest and safety are so highly concerned as that of Mr. Wood ; and this in a country where loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people, seems a little extraordinary. Sir William Scroggs was the first who introduced that commendable acuteness into the court of judicature ; but how far this practice hath been imitated by his successors, or strained upon occasion, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets, unpleasing to the ministry were presented as libels. he would order the offensive paragraphs to be read before him ; and said it was strange, that the judges and lawyers of the King's-bench should be duller than all the people of England : and he was often so very happy in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding dubious hints, (the two common expedients among writers of that class for escaping the law), that he discovered much more than ever the authors intended ; as many of them, or their printers, found to their cost. If such methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the subject of Mr. Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my understanding and
caution

caution to avoid being intrapped; unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this dilemma; either to let my learned works hang for ever adrying upon his lines, or venture to publish them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your Lordships where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the King and the laws permit us to refuse this coin of Mr. Wood: but at the same time it is equally true, that the King and the laws permit us to receive it. Now, it is barely possible, that the ministers in England may not suppose the consequences of uttering that brass among us to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because, perhaps if they understood it in that light, they would in common humanity use their credit with his Majesty for saving a most loyal kingdom from destruction. But as long as it should please those great persons to think that coin will not be so very pernicious to us, we lie under the disadvantage of being censured as obstinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make use of that liberty, which the King and the laws have left us, by continuing to refuse this coin; and by frequent remembrances to keep up that spirit raised against it, which otherwise may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to sink altogether. For any public order against receiving or uttering Mr. Wood's halfpence is not reasonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from England; which I think no body presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

But to confess the truth, my Lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my brethren, the makers of songs and ballads, who perhaps are the best qualified at present to gather up the gleanings

ings of this controversy. As to myself, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and pursue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falsehoods of this vile impostor Wood in every part, I foolishly disdained to have recourse to whining, lamenting, and crying for mercy; but rather chose to appeal to law and liberty, and the common rights of mankind, without considering the climate I was in.

Since your last residence in Ireland, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied myself to feel an air of freedom breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradesmen did not qualify me to wait on you at your house; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have escaped severer censures. But I have lately sold my nag, and honestly told his greatest fault, which was that of snuffing up the air about Brackdenstown; whereby he became such a lover of liberty, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried at the bottom of a strong chest your Lordship's writings under a heap of others that treat of liberty; and spread over a layer or two of Hobbes, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that stamp, to be readiest at hand, whenever I shall be disposed to take up a new set of principles in government. In the mean time I design quietly to look to my shop, and keep as far out of your Lordship's influence as possible: and if ever you see any more of my writings on this subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a sting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your Lordship will give me an easy lease of some part of your estate in Yorkshire, thither will I carry my chest: and turning it upside down, resume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honest English farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen under the dread
of

of the brazen talons of Mr. Wood: my most loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe so much for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to serve them. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

From my shop in

St. Francis-street,

Dec. 14. 1724.

most obedient

and most humble servant,

M. B.

These papers (for the sixth and seventh letters were not published till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithstanding threats, prosecutions, and imprisonment, against all the influence of power, and all the artifices of cunning; persons of every rank and every sect united with the drapier in the common cause, his health was a perpetual toast, and his effigies were displayed in every street; Wood was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his halfpence were totally suppressed.



A LET.

A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MID-
DLETON *.

Written in the year 1724.

[By many passages in the following letter, and by the date Oct. 6. 1724, it appears to have been written soon after the proclamation against the drapier for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this crisis perhaps the Dean did not chuse to resume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was signed with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for some reason the publication of it was delayed, and it was first printed in an edition of the Dean's works published at Dublin in 1735. This however is not the only reason why it is placed after the fifth letter; for the fifth letter appears to have been substituted in its stead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth, is called the last; which could not have happened if both had been parts of the same series.

The reader will now easily account for those passages in the sixth, by which the prosecution against Harding appears to be depending, though in the fifth it is mentioned as past.]

My LORD,

I Desire you will consider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who speaks to a cause when the matter

* He signed the proclamation against the Drapier.

hath been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some months ago I was at your house upon a commission, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not so much on account of the commission, as to ask you some questions concerning Mr. Wood's patent to coin halfpence for Ireland; where you very freely told me in a mixed company, how much you had been always against that wicked project*; which raised in me an esteem for you so far, that I went in a few days to make you a visit after so many years intermission. I am likewise told, that your son wrote two letters from London, (one of which I have seen), empowering those to whom they were directed to assure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report spread, of his engaging himself to Mr. Walpole for forty thousand pounds of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the said report was false and groundless; and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And although it be long since I have given myself the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations; yet I have been told by those who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous consequences of Wood's patent have been so strongly represented by both houses of parliament; by the privy council; the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dublin; by so many corporations; and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in

* Lord Middleton, though he signed the proclamation against the Drapier, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by several passages in this letter.

most counties at their quarter-sessions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the currency of these halfpence would in the universal opinion of our people be utterly destructive to this kingdom; and consequently that it is every man's duty not only to refuse this coin himself, but as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like: and whether this be done in private or in print, is all a case; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to discourse upon religion or moral subjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at least in our church). Neither is this an affair of state, until authority shall think fit to declare it so: or if you should understand it in that sense, yet you will please to consider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore I do think it my duty, since the Drapier will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his place, as not to incur his fortune; for I have learned from old experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preserving both those characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones, to refresh the memory of my fellow-subjects, and keep up that good spirit raised among them to preserve themselves from utter ruin by lawful means, and such as are permitted by his Majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two propositions: first, that we are a most loyal people; and secondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many years ago in discourse differ much in the presence of Lord Wharton about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to Ireland. But if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which, I doubt, my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed

would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow : for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be *Libertas et natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both *.

Now, as for our loyalty to his present Majesty, if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it hath never been exceeded : and I am confident he hath not a minister in England, who could ever call it once in question ; but that some hard rumours at least have been transmitted from t'other side the water, I suppose you will not doubt : and rumours of the severest kind ; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. Wood and his emissaries : as if he endeavoured it should be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal people ; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a King, that a loyal and free people can expect : among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one, that Wood's halfpence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to wish, when we dare no longer express our wishes : although there were no such mortal as a Drapier in the world.

I am heartily sorry, that any writer should, in a cause so generally approved, give occasion to the government and council to charge him with † “ paragraphs highly reflecting upon his Majesty and
“ his ministers ; tending to alienate the affections
“ of his good subjects in England and Ireland from
“ each other ; and to promote sedition among the

* See the address to both houses of parliament, by M. B. drapier.

† In the drapier's 4th letter.

“ people.” I must confess, that with many others I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the drapier is but one man, I shall think I do a public service by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of his pamphlets to reflect on the King or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the King, on the subject of Mr. Wood's coin: for in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his Majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in England, the only two persons hinted at were the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Walpole. The former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared, that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr. Wood, before it was passed, although he was then Lord Lieutenant; and therefore I suppose every body believes, that his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr. Walpole was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter W. in several news-papers; where it is said that some expressions fell from him not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the drapier wholly clears Mr. Walpole of this charge by very strong arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion that Mr. Walpole favoured Mr. Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own part, never once opened my lips against that minister either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reason for this reservedness was; because it pleased him in the Queen's time, (I mean Queen Anne, of ever-blessed memory), to make a

speech directly against me by name in the house of Commons, as I was told a very few minutes after in the court of requests by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here, (if any thing here may be called great), cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by public voice to be chief minister, will among the general talkers share the blame, whether justly or no, of every thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many instances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the case of the * greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt minister I ever conversed with.

But, whatever displeasing opinion some people might conceive of Mr. Walpole on account of those halfpence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr. Wood. Many persons of credit come from England have affirmed to me and others, that they have seen letters under his hand full of arrogance and insolence towards Ireland, and boasting of his favour with Mr. Walpole; which is highly probable; because he reasonably thought it for his interest to spread such a report, and because it is the known talent of low and little spirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have sufficiently justified the people of Ireland from learning any bad lesson out of the drapier's pamphlets with regard to his Majesty and his ministers: and therefore, if those papers were intended to sow sedition among us, God be thanked the seeds have fallen upon a very improper soil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other; I believe the drapier, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in

* Supposed to be the Lord Treasurer Oxford.

country as in town ; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most men in the dispositions of each people towards the other. By the people I understand here, only the bulk of the common people : and I desire no lawyer may distort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which added to the easiness of their rents makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico ; farther than that it is a country subject to the King of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish Papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence : and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea : for they have a tradition, that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions pass upon them ; that the wild Irish were taken in toils ; but that in some time they would grow so tame, as to eat out of your hands : I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at Pepperhara, whether I had come from Ireland by sea : and upon the arrival of an Irish man to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A gentleman now in Dublin affirms, that passing some months ago through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations ; upon asking the cause he was told, it was for joy that the Irish had submitted to receive Wood's halfpence. This, I think, plainly shews what sentiments that large town hath of us ; and how little they made it their own case ; although they lie directly in our way to London, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of Irish Papists, who are as inconsiderable in point of power as the women and children; or of English Protestants, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used: however, I confess I do not see that it is of any great consequence how their personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether those from England have reason to complain, when they come hither in pursuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reason to boast, when they go to England upon the same design?

My second proposition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I suppose, you will allow, at least with certain limitations remaining in your own breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the subject, are often mentioned in both houses of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: from whence it must follow, that the people of Ireland do, or ought to enjoy all the benefits of the common and statute law; such as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and silver; I do not see why any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of William Wood; who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property, which the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the drapier's case in another light by supposing, that a person going into his shop should agree for thirty shillings worth of goods, and force the seller

to

to take his payment in a parcel of copper pieces intrinſically not worth above a crown : I deſire to know whether the drapier would not be actually robbed of five and twenty ſhillings ; and how far he could be ſaid to be maſter of his property ? The ſame queſtion may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatſoever.

Give me leave to do what the drapier hath done more than once before me ; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it ſtands in the view of the world.

One William Wood, Eſq; and hardwareman, obtains by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000 *l.* in copper to paſs in Ireland, leaving us liberty to take or reſuſe. The people here, in all ſorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin : to juſtify theſe declarations they generally offer two reaſons ; firſt, becauſe by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice ; and, ſecondly, becauſe they are not obliged by law : ſo that you ſee there is *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one ſide, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr. Wood gets the victory at the expenſe of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thouſand pounds (I mean by continuing and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himſelf ; I doubt, both preſent and future ages will at leaſt think it a very ſingular ſcheme.

If this fact be truly ſtated, I muſt confeſs I look upon it as my duty, ſo far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-ſubjects, as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin : no not ſo much as one ſingle halfpenny. For, if one ſingle thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And

And while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself leave to suppose that what I say can either offend my Lord Lieutenant *, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected, (as I am sure his Excellency will be my witness), or the ministers in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the privy council here; who, as I am informed, did send an address to his Majesty against Mr. Wood's coin; which, if it be a mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a spreader of false news: but I confess, I am so great a stranger to affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may since have been changed: and although I observed some of the very same names in a late declaration against that coin, which I saw subscribed to the proclamation against the drapier, yet possibly they may be different persons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

In this controversy, where the reasoners on each side are divided by St. George's channel, his Majesty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr. Wood and his advocates had not made it necessary by giving out, that the currency of his coin should be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it most dreadful apprehensions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for the drapier to remove this difficulty; and accordingly in one of his former pamphlets he produced invincible arguments, (where-ever he picked them up), that the King's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; since the law had sufficiently provided against any coin to be imposed upon the subject, except gold and silver; and that copper is not mo-

* Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

ney, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the drapier having not received any public censure, I look upon them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that spirit raised against this destructive coin of Mr. Wood. As for this last letter, against which a proclamation is issued; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal but being naturally somewhat slow of comprehension, no lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those who profess good designs, without any visible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greatest offence in this last letter * is, where the drapier affirms, that if a rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the pretender on the throne of England, he would venture so far to transgress the Irish statute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to lose every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.

I shall not presume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would transgress a statute, and a statute of such importance: but, with the most humble submission and desire of pardon for a very innocent mistake, I should be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at least some small extenuation of his crime; for in this I confess myself to think with the drapier.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections against that pamphlet; but I suppose they will all appear at the prosecution of the drapier.

* Letter 4. See the note prefixed to this letter.

And, I think, whoever in his own conscience believes the said pamphlet to be "wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his ministers, &c." would do well to discover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers), although the reward of 300 *l.* had not been tacked to the discovery. I own, it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers upon this case. Because you cannot but know, there often happen occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore it hath been the wisdom of the English parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either house of parliament, there nothing is more usual, than to have the controversy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here, in the case of Mr. Wood and his coin; since the two houses gave their opinion by addressees, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all question both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular persons, to whom God hath given zeal and understanding sufficient for such an undertaking. Thus it happened in the case of that destructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of some without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad, if some able lawyers would prescribe the limits, how far a private man

man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters: because a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet stander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath some share in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in some degree every such man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wish to know whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer so much as to mention the prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatsoever. I know it is often debated in Westminster-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that subject in their books.

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the subject, which is not Sterling; such as lead, brass, copper, mixed metal, shells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown shall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phrase of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that dependency consisteth?

Lastly, In what points relating to liberty and property the people of Ireland differ, or at least ought to differ, from those of England.

If these particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite ease and use to the kingdom; and either prevent or silence all discontents.

My Lord Sommers, the greatest man I ever knew of your robe, and whose thoughts of Ireland differed, as far as heaven and earth, from those of some others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown or the privileges of parliament should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch of either; by which means, he said, the public often suffered great inconveniencies,

conveniencies, whereof he gave me several instances. I produce the authority of so eminent a person to justify my desires, that some high points might be cleared.

For want of such known ascertainment how far a writer may proceed in expressing his good wishes for his country, a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly by the oratory and comments of lawyers be charged with many crimes, which from his very soul he abhors; and consequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in some stinking jail, merely for mistaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my lifetime a printer prosecuted and convicted for publishing a pamphlet*, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inspection upon the subject of Mr. Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and published; I cannot say I would insure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.

I have heard the late Chief Justice Holt affirm, that in all criminal cases the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes; though often very ill practised by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client by alledging, that the words were not injurious; for knave in the old and true signification imported only a servant; and villain, in Latin, is

* Supposed to be, "A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures," written by the author.

villicus, which is no more than a man employed in country-labour, or rather a bailey.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer with a very small measure of discretion might easily be safe; but I doubt in practice it hath been frequently controlled, at least before his time: For I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a passage of Signor Leti an Italian; who, being in London, busying himself with writing the history of England, told Charles II. that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impossible, although he should have been as wise as Solomon. The king answered, that if this were the case, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public necessity of writing; neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worse, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected, What have private men to do with the public? What call had a drapier to turn politician, to meddle in matters of state? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his shop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? He would then have been out of all danger of proclamations, and prosecutions. Have we not able magistrates and counsellors hourly watching over the public weal? All this may be true: and yet when the addresses from both houses of parliament against Mr. Wood's halfpence failed of success, if some pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refusing that coin, to detect the fraud, the artifice, and insolence of the coiner, and to lay open the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin, I might appeal

to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow misinformations: for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion: but as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my duty to God, my King, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately issued against the drapier doth not in the least affect the case of Mr. Wood and his coin; but only refers to certain paragraphs in the drapier's last pamphlet *, (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause), which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe, that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the drapier, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. Wood, or his coin.

Therefore concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue upon any proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation, (whether the real author were a real drapier or no, is little to the purpose) against this horrid design of Mr. Wood; at the same time carefully watching, every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public censure of the world as a writer, not of my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed as a criminal.

* The 4th letter.

Whenever

Whenever an order shall come out by authority, forbidding all men upon the highest penalties to offer any thing in writing or discourse against Mr. Wood's halfpence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determin'd to be somewhat more than the last man in the kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: for although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience against my conscience, and the public safety.

I desire to put a case, which I think the drapier in some of his books hath put before me, although not so fully as it requires.

You know the copper halfpence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now suppose, that, instead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to some private, obscure person, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. Wood is preparing in this; and all of it at least five times below the intrinsic value: the current money of England is reckoned to be twenty millions; and ours under * five hundred thousand pounds: By this computation, as Mr. Wood hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; so the patentee in England, by the same proportion, might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits. I desire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have address'd upon such an occasion; what success they probably would have had; and how many drapiers would have risen to pester the world with pamphlets: yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours in the like case; because their cash would not be convey'd into foreign countries, but lie hid in the chests of cautious, thrifty men until

* It is since sunk to 200,000 l.

better times. Then I desire, for the satisfaction of the public, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so different a manner in a point of such high importance; whether it be on account of Poining's act; of subordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill success of Mr. Wood will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in England; and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchase: because I should be glad to possess a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own consent: and where I should never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixed copper at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live at ease and plenty at Pepperhara in Surry; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-spirited in you to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute, by shewing, without reserve, your disapprobation of Mr. Wood's design; at least, if you have been so frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points; and therefore I could get but few believers, when I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the drapier's observation. If these halfpence should once gain admittance, it is agreed, that in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge

charge upon the crown, by creating a necessity of transmitting money from England to pay the salaries at least of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for instance) could support his dignity with a thousand pounds a-year in Wood's coin; which could not intrinsically be worth near two hundred. To argue that these halfpence, if no other coin were current, would answer the general ends of commerce among ourselves, is a great mistake; and the drapier hath made that matter too clear to admit an answer, by shewing us what every owner of land must be forced to do with the products of it in such a distress. You may read his remarks at large in his second or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several months past there have more papers been written in this town, such as they are, all upon the best public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in so short a time; I speak in general from the drapier down to the maker of ballads: and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am assured by persons of credit, that the best ballad upon Mr. Wood will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding * declares he never made the drapier any present except one pair of scissors. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by opposing Mr. Wood is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon so transitory a subject and in so obscure a corner of the world, to distinguish himself as an author. So that I look upon myself, the drapier, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our several degrees.

* The printer of the Drapier's letters.

All

All that the public can expect for the future is, only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. Wood's halfpence; and to be referred for conviction to the drapier's reasons. For a man of the most superior understanding will find it impossible to make the best use of it, while he writes in constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer or himself under a prosecution from my Lord Chief Justice Whithed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being soundly beaten by a weaver for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us for opposing this fatal project of Mr. Wood, my pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain), who after many alterations returned them back with assuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflection, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the bellman of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, *Past twelve o'clock; beware of Wood's halfpence*; it would probably cut off the occasion of publishing any more pamphlets, provided that in country-towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St. Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings or discourses upon all subjects, except such as are in favour of Mr. Wood, I will obey as it becomes me;

IIA only

only when I am in danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wisdom of my countrymen; but only these few words. BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALFPENCE.

I am,

With due respect,

your most obedient,

humble servant.

Deanery-house,
Oct. 26. 1724.

J. S.

END of VOL. III.

only when I am in danger of being
 whether among the rocks, not any reflection upon
 the wisdom of my countrymen; but only this law
 words, BEWARE OF WOOD, HAIRPENCIL.

69 NO 01

With due respect,

Your most obedient

James A. Smith

James A. Smith
 Oct. 20, 1834

1. 2.

End of Vol. III.

